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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY **ARCHAEOLOGIA:**

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MISCELLANEOUS

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SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGISTS

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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

ARCHAEOLOGIA;
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

- I. *Account of a Sepulchral Monument in the Campo Santo, at Pisa; with Observations on the disputed Date of that Building: in a Letter from SYDNEY SMIRKE, Esq. F. S. A. addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R. S., Secretary.*
-

Read 10th December, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

Regent Street, August 1, 1829.

I BEG that you will do me the favour to accept the accompanying Drawing, and (should you think fit) to lay it before the Society of Antiquaries. It is a careful representation, made by me at Pisa in 1825, of a sepulchral Monument of the date 1359, preserved in one of the chapels of the Campo Santo.^a As a work of art this piece of sculpture has considerable merit; there is some elegance in its general form, and great delicacy in the details; and the date, inscribed upon a fillet of the pedestal, gives it additional interest in the eye of an Antiquary.

This monument is a curious illustration of the remark frequently made by those who have become acquainted with the Italian architecture of the middle ages, that the artists of Italy adopted less readily than those of other countries the style every where prevailing in Europe during a portion of that period. The intimate mixture in the example before you of the Classic and the Pointed Style is ob-

^a See Plate I.

vious ; the pinnacles, the crockets, the cusps of the arch, have all a general resemblance to similar works of the same period in England ; but the form of the arch, the trusses, and many of the enrichments, bear the strongest marks of their classic origin.

This incongruity of style characterizes almost all the attempts of the Italians at designing "*alla maniera tedesca*," and has greatly detracted from the elegance of many both of their architectural and sculptural works, in which the beautiful execution of the details leaves no doubt of the power and taste of the artist.

Having spoken of a Monument in the Campo Santo of Pisa, perhaps I may be excused if I further trespass on your attention, by some remarks upon the disputed date of that Building.

The XVth volume of the *Archæologia* contains a Paper communicated by my brother, Mr. Robert Smirke, in which the date, assigned to it on the authority of an inscription^b in the wall, is A. D. 1278.

In a subsequent Paper, Sir H. Englefield denied the correctness of this date as far as regarded the tracery of the cloisters, contending that the florid design of it indicated a more modern origin, and that the true date was ascertained by another inscription,^c to be A. D. 1464. To this a reply was made, which concluded the correspondence upon the subject.

When the Rev. William Gunn published his "*Enquiry into the Origin and Influence of Gothic Architecture*," the testimony in favour of the earlier date seems to have produced conviction on his mind, until a further examination of the building by Mr. Taylor induced him to alter his opinion. The result of this examination was published in the *Archæologia*, vol. XX.

^b A. D. MCCLXXVIII.

Tempore duc. Federigi Archiepi. Pis.

Et duc. terlati potestatis,

Operario Orlando Sardella,

Johanna Magistro edificante.

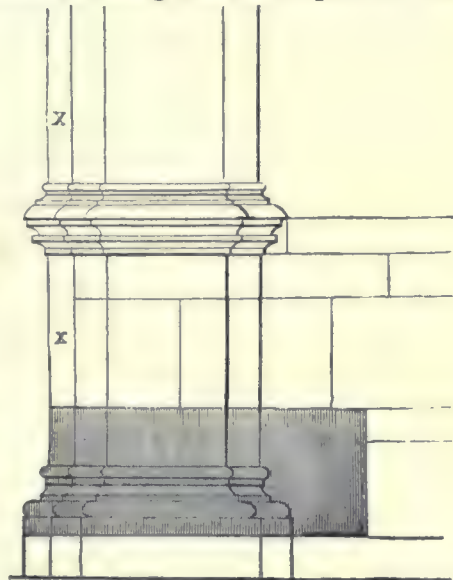
^c D. Ti. . O. de Medicis Archiep'o Pisano Antonius Jacobi almi Templi Pisani Operarius sacri hu'j. et inter mortales præclarissimi sepulchri opus IIII. arcubus XXVIII Q 3 p'foratis fenestris marmoreis, III. Ann. sua diligentia perfici curavit. D. I. A. N. M.CCCC.LXIII.

In this position of the controversy I visited Pisa in 1825, when I did not fail to pay particular attention to this subject; and with the preceding facts and opinions in my recollection, I made the structure in question the subject of a very careful investigation. Referring to my Notes then taken on the spot, I will briefly submit to you the substance of my observations.

The Windows of this celebrated Cloister are divided into three spaces by two slender columns; the tracery in question springs from these columns and two lateral half columns, one of which, as usual, is attached to each jamb of the opening: the shafts of these half columns terminate in bases resting on the cill of the windows, except at the six openings or doorways which connect the cloisters with the included area: in these six doorways (where of course there are no cills) the half columns are continued down to the pavement.

In the construction of this part of the work, I observed a circumstance which irresistibly led me to conclude, that the tracery must have been contemporary with the rest of the building, *viz.* that in almost every jamb of the doorways, some of the stones forming the lower part of the half columns form an integral part of the main wall.

With a view to illustrate this remark, and to confirm the hypothesis by an unequivocal instance, I have here drawn the lower part of the north jamb of the eastern doorway, by which it will appear that one of the stones, forming the half column x, extends no less than four feet five inches into the masonry of the main wall, a depth which precludes the possibility of its being a subsequent insertion.^d



^d The stone, darkly shaded, extends four feet five inches into the wall; is one foot one inch and a quarter in height, and is of the whole thickness of the jamb.

This construction I was careful to point out to Signor Lasinio, the Conservator of the Campo Santo, who coincided with me in the opinion that, as the columns could only have been designed to receive the tracery which springs from them, those columns and the tracery must have been coëval ; and as it is apparent from the peculiarity of structure already pointed out, that the columns and the main walls were built up together, it is difficult to avoid concluding that the date of the tracery coincides with that of the building.

If it be objected that the impost mouldings have been in many instances cut away, and the half columns so clumsily applied to the jambs as to produce a very observable disunion of parts, a still further examination of the building suggests a satisfactory explanation of this difficulty.

On looking at each separate window I soon found reason to conclude that the columns with their tracery, although every where of similar design, were not always referable to the same date. Out of the sixty-two arches which form the entire quadrangle, those at the end, not directly exposed to the sea air, bear the strongest indications of being older than the rest : though less exposed they are much more decayed. The capitals of their columns have strictly the character usually designated Gothic, whilst the rest are rather in the Cinque Cento style. The former are so carved as to mitre in with the impost of the arches, the latter seem to have required the impost mouldings to be very rudely cut away to receive them ; the former still show the holes cut to receive the iron bars to which the original glazing was secured, the latter have no such indications. And there are many other points of difference which I will not trouble you by detailing.

In these latter and more recent openings the columns and tracery are formed of stones chiefly new, *but with the occasional intermixture of stones which seem to have been the remnants of older windows* : these older materials still show the holes formerly destined to receive the glazing, but have been sometimes so transposed and misplaced in working them into the more modern reparations, as to render those holes no

longer applicable to their original purpose, nor indeed to any purpose whatever.

To account for these two distinct dates let us turn to the inscriptions already alluded to. The first records the erection of the building in 1283, by Giovanni da Pisa ; the second informs us, that Antonio Pisano in 1464 completed ^e the work with four arches (probably the doorways) and twenty-eight windows.^f

I infer, therefore, that it was part of Giovanni da Pisa's original design to fill up all the openings with columns and tracery as we now see them, but whether in fact all were so filled up by him, we have no means of ascertaining, nor is that in any way material : that at a later period the glass originally inserted in the windows was removed,^g that some of the columns and tracery afterwards underwent repairs, on which occasion the old materials were partially used again, and that four arches and twenty-eight perforated windows were then either added or entirely renewed.

That Giovanni was a master of the style at that time called the German style of designing, and consequently might well have been the author of these beautiful and enriched perforations ; derives some confirmation from the fact, that the Cathedral of Sienna, one of the most elegant examples of Pointed Architecture in Italy, was the work of his scholars Agostino and Agnola in 1333. Indeed the design of this Structure is attributed to Giovanni himself, who left it, upon his death, to be carried into execution by his pupils.

Some apology is due for dwelling so long upon a subject which, after all, is of trifling interest ; but I cannot avoid expressing my surprise, that Sir Henry Englefield's original objection to the antiquity of the

^e " Perfici curavit."

^f " I.I.I.I. arcubus, xxviii que perforatis fenestris."

^g Doubts have been entertained whether these openings were ever glazed, but I was enabled to satisfy myself on this point by detecting a piece of stained glass of an orange colour, which adhered to the tracery of one of the older windows, and probably yet remains there.

tracery should have been grounded upon the *prematurity* of style. The quatrefoil circles of the tracery; the total absence of perpendicular lines in it, and the mullions consisting not of the tracery mouldings uninterruptedly extending downwards; but of slender columns, are all familiar features in the Architecture prevalent in England during the reign of the three first Edwards. In the earlier arches of the Cloisters at Norwich, in some portions of York Minster, in the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, and in many other places that might be enumerated, are to be found instances of tracery similar in design, equally florid, and executed during the life of the original architect of the Campo Santo of Pisa. So that, instead of throwing suspicion upon the early date assigned to this Cloister, the windows in question rather furnish additional proof of the contemporary prevalence of similar peculiarities of design in the Architecture of the more civilized States of Europe.

I remain,

Dear Sir, with great respect,

Your very faithful servant,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
F. R. S. &c.



Sepulchral Monument in the Campo Santo at Pisa



II. *Observations on the Round Church Towers of Norfolk ; and on the material employed in constructing the early religious Buildings in that County. By Mr. SAMUEL WOODWARD, of Norwich, in a Letter addressed to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V.P.*

Read 28th May, 1829.

Dean's Square, Norwich, May 23, 1829.

IN consequence of the conflicting opinions entertained respecting the origin of the Circular Towers of Churches, I have been led to ascertain their proportional number in Norfolk ; in order to illustrate, if possible, their origin. In doing which, I find that they are more frequent in those parts of Norfolk in which thick beds of diluvial gravel occur ; particularly in Clavering hundred (the south-east angle of the County), where they equal in number the square towers : they are found also in the northern part of Suffolk under similar circumstances, and that they are but thinly distributed, or entirely absent, in other counties of England. Their dimensions are small, and many of them have been finished with an octangular top, of comparatively modern workmanship ; they are all built with flint boulders, with the exception of that attached to the church of West Dereham, which is of Car-stone ; and I have no hesitation in stating my conviction, that they owe their form, not to any peculiar style, but have been thus built from necessity, in consequence of the absence of freestone in the soil ; and that the necessity originally influencing the Saxons, extended itself to the Normans, as may be seen in the towers of the parish churches of St. Paul and St. Mary in Norwich, founded after the Conquest.

A striking feature of this necessity is exemplified in the construction of the chapel of St. Michael, the first building erected by Bishop Herbert at Norwich; this chapel is built on Mousehold Heath, on the edge of the valley in which Norwich is situated, and from the remains there does not appear to have been any freestone used in its construction; being a parallelogram, the angles are finished with solid cylinders of masonry; the windows are long slits about ten inches wide.

There are many of these churches in Norfolk, however, which are decidedly Saxon; being enriched with ornamented arches over their south entrances, and having other marks of Saxon character, particularly the semicircular east end.

The early churches were undoubtedly constructed of the material indigenous to the soil, or most readily obtained; thus the first churches are described as being constructed of wood; as the one at Shernbourn in this county, called Stock Chapel, is described to have been (see Spelman's Posthumous Works, p. 189); and as the zeal or ingenuity of the people advanced, the churches assumed a more permanent form. This fact is borne out on an examination of the Norfolk churches; as we find that in Marshland (the neighbourhood of the locality of the oolite or freestone) there are some of the finest parochial churches in England, built entirely or in part with freestone; in Clackclose Hundred they are erected with Car-stone. In some parts of western Norfolk the hard chalk is used in the construction of religious buildings, particularly at Marham Church and Abbey: this chalk is so indurated, that it is capable of receiving the finest finish, and is even used for monumental effigies, as in those of John Steward and Ann his wife (date 1603) in Marham Church, and of Sir Oliver de Ingham and Sir Roger de Bois and his Lady in Ingham Church, placed there about the middle of the fourteenth century.

On the influx of the Normans Caen stone was introduced, and the religious edifices of eastern Norfolk are found to be mostly constructed of that material. At a subsequent period the chalk flints were introduced, cut into regular squares, and in some instances set into the

Caen stone, as in the Abbey Gate of St. Benet, Ludham, St. Ethelbert's Gate, Norwich, and Thorpe's Chapel, attached to the Church of St. Michael Coslany, Norwich. Of the squared flint buildings, that erected by William Appleyard, the first Mayor of Norwich, about A. D. 1400, in St. Andrew's parish, Norwich, is certainly one of the finest specimens in the kingdom.

I now beg leave to conclude, hoping that I have fairly supported my position; that the circular towers of churches originated in necessity, and cannot be ascribed to the styles of either Saxons, Danes, or Normans.

SAMUEL WOODWARD.

III. *Observations on the Ecclesiastical Round Towers of Norfolk and Suffolk ; in a Letter from JOHN GAGE, Esq. F. R. S., Director, to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V. P. &c.*

Read 19th November, 1829.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE during the summer visited many of the round towers of churches in our native counties of Norfolk and Suffolk in the hope of determining their antiquity; and have examined others in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Sussex, and Berkshire, where there are a few examples, for the sake of comparing them with our own.

Thus, above fifty round towers of churches in different districts have been surveyed, and in communicating to you the result of my observations, I have to request you will lay them before the Society of Antiquaries, together with a series of illustrations from the pencil of Mr. John Chessell Buckler, who accompanied me in my progress.

From the received opinion that these towers are of Danish origin, though I could never see any grounds for such an opinion, I was prepared to meet with a class of towers so rude and doubtful in their construction, that, like the round towers of Ireland, which Giraldus speaks^a of as if of remote antiquity in his time, they might seem to claim

^a Giraldus, giving a fabulous account of the origin of the lake, Lough Neagh, caused by the overflowing of a fountain that on a sudden deluged a large tract of land, and destroyed a wicked race of people, tells us, that in calm weather the fishermen are accustomed to point out, under water, to strangers crossing the lake, the tall, narrow, round, ecclesiastical towers peculiar to the Country. "*Piscatores aquæ illius turres Ecclesiasticas, quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ, necnon et rotundæ, sub undis manifeste sereno tempore conspiciunt; et extraneis transeuntibus, reique causas admirantibus, frequenter ostendunt.*" Topograph. Hib. dist. ii. c. ix.

antiquity higher than the Norman æra ; and yet I had been familiarized all my life to the round towers in the neighbourhood of St. Edmundsbury, and had seen nothing there that could justify such pretensions. I had even fancifully imagined that, as the two or three examples of the ecclesiastical round tower in Scotland^b might be said to be borrowed from Ireland, so, the fashion of our towers in Norfolk and Suffolk, might, in spite of difference of character, have been introduced into East Anglia, where they are most prevalent, by Fursæus, the holy monk, who came over from Ireland to the court of Sigberct, and built monasteries in his kingdom, particularly at Cnobbersburgh.^c As, too, it was manifest from Bede's relation of the vision of Bega on the death of St. Hilda, that bells were used by the Anglo-Saxons in his days,^d and as the Saxon copy of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, in the Cottonian Collection^e contains an illumination or drawing of a church with a round tower, it was not unreasonable to expect to find at least one tower that might pass for Anglo-Saxon : but all these thoughts vanished when the towers themselves came before me in review.

Instead of finding this rude and doubtful character, I saw pure Norman architecture, or the Circular Style, highly finished in some, and plainer in others, until it became more or less mixed with the English or Pointed ; and with surprise I found the early Pointed Style prevalent in a great many. There was but one tower which I conceived might rank higher in antiquity than the twelfth century ; and that one not being earlier than the Norman time. None could properly be said to be doubtful in the date of their construction ; though some were so mutilated and altered that the original character was lost.

^b Brechin, Abernethy.

^c Libellus Vitæ Fursæi. Acta SS. Benedict. Tom. viii. p. 290. Bede's account of St. Fursey, lib. iii. c. xix. is grounded on this narrative.

^d Hæc tunc in dormitorio Sororum pausans audivit subito in aere *notum companionum*, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant cum quis de sæculo fuisset evocatus. Bed. lib. iv. c. xxiii.

^e Cleopatra, C. viii. fo. 7. Pudicitia gladium suum sub altare in templo recondit.

The situation of these towers varies : some are in cities or towns ; in Norwich are three, in Bungay there is one, and in Lewes one. Many will be found bordering upon the Ikenild Street ^f as it approaches Caistor, or as it winds from Buckenham to Burgh Castle (*Garianonum*), or on the route from Colchester (*Camalodunum*), by Taseburgh (*ad Taum*), to Caistor. The Church of Taseburgh stands within the Roman fortification ; and Hadiscoe tower is in a very strong position. Some are along rivers, as Piddinghoe and South Ease, at the mouth of the Sussex Ouse, the former commanding both the river and the high road. Welford and West Shefford in Berkshire, one in the Circular, the other in the Pointed Style of architecture, lie on the Lambourne ; and, on each side of the Waveney, dividing Norfolk and Suffolk, a line of round towers extends from Rickenhall beyond the source of the river to its confluence at Burgh with the Yare, a short distance from the sea ; some are on high, some in low ground : many are distant from rivers, in the heart of the country, as Little Saxham, Risby, and Beighton in Suffolk, Bartlow and Snailwell in Cambridgeshire, and Great Leighs and South Ockendon in Essex. Solitary examples of these towers are met with,^g but generally they are in clusters ; for example, the towers of Sussex and Berkshire are found together, there is a cluster about St. Edmundsbury, and they prevail in some parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, and are not met with in others.

These towers, in every district, are built of rough flint, those of Sussex being meaner structures than the rest. The flint is generally laid in

^f The Ikenild Street is traced by Dr. Mason, Rector of Orford in Suffolk, after it leaves Ixworth, through Lopham and Kenninghall, to Buckenham ; whence one route goes direct to Caistor, and the other route goes near Taseburgh, south of Hemenhale, north of Ditchingham Hall, crossing the road from Loddon to Beccles, passing between Toft and Heckingham, by Hadiscoe Church, to Burgh Castle. The road from Colchester, according to the same authority, enters Norfolk at Scole, passing by Dickleburgh, Stratton, and Taseburgh, to Caistor. This tract abounds in round towers.

^g A single specimen occurs in Surrey, at Tooting.

regular courses, the best specimens of which are Hadiscoe, Little Saxham, and Heringfleet. Norton, in Norfolk, is an instance among others, where the flint is not in courses; Fritton and Lound, in Suffolk, and the churches in Norwich, are examples where cut flint has been used in recasing the towers. None are of freestone; but with one exception, freestone is used, more or less, in the dressings of all the towers I have seen.

In the internal construction of a few, I observed alternate courses of flint, and brick or tile, as at Fritton, and Ashby, in Suffolk, and Thorpe Abbots in Norfolk; brick is also used with the flint at Rushmere in Suffolk: these bricks measure on an average ten inches by one and three quarters, and it is remarkable that they occur in towers of the Pointed Style only.

The towers externally batter more or less. Hadiscoe batters all the way up; many do so as far as the upper stage only, and are from that point perpendicular.

The towers of Sussex, and of Welford in Berkshire, and Great Leighs in Essex, have spires, the rest are plain or embattled; it must, however, be observed, that most, if not all, have had their summits altered or rebuilt, perhaps chiefly in consequence of damage from the bells. At Blundeston, not to mention other examples, windows, which I think were originally at the summit, are now, in consequence of an addition to the height of the tower, in the middle stage. Instances occur, of octagonal heads having been added to the original building; but the octagonal head to the tower of Thorpe Abbots seems to be coeval with the circular base; and a peculiarity is seen there, which must not be overlooked. On the north side of the basement is a chimney, the flue of which runs up the wall^b nine inches square, the smoke escaping from a small north loop. The external bands or string courses,

^b This flue is original; at Bedale in Yorkshire a tower-chimney occurs, and at Mettingham Church in Suffolk, there is a flue in the porch with an aperture for a fire cradle, or grate.

and the disposition of the windows of different towers, give to them the appearance of one or more stories ; and some may have had floors : many, however, to judge from the state of the internal masonry, were clear from the base to the summit. Little Saxham and Blundeston, the loftiest I have met with, are each fifty-six feet high.

The circumference of the tower of Little Saxham rather exceeds the height, and this tower stands unrivalled for symmetry and beauty. The diameter of Syleham, in the clear, is only eight feet ; of Hadiscoe, which is fifty-two feet high, it is eight feet four inches ; the average is between ten and eleven feet ; in some the diameter exceeds fourteen feet. The Sussex towers are not so solid as those of Norfolk and Suffolk : the walls of the former towers do not exceed the thickness of two feet and a half, while those of some of the latter are nearly double. Beighton, is five feet thick ; Thorpe-Abbots, four feet ten inches ; Norton, four feet eight inches ; Saxham, four feet six inches ; Hadiscoe, four feet.

These towers are attached to the west end of the churches, and always constituted a part of them. In one instance the presbytery is older than the tower : Fritton Church has a semicircular apsis of pure Norman architecture, with a tower in the Pointed Style. In other examples, the east face of the tower is flattened, but in thisⁱ the tower has been circular downward nearly to the arch, where it is shaped off in the form of a bracket. Heckingham Church, the south door of which is unusually rich, has, like Fritton, a semicircular apsis.

In speaking generally of the style of architecture of these structures, I have said that there was one tower which I conceived to be of higher antiquity than the rest. This is Taseburgh, represented in Plate II. It

ⁱ The upper part of this tower has been rebuilt, and the whole has been cased with cut flint. In rebuilding the body of the church it was widened to the south, which throws the tower out of the centre of the building. This alteration took place in the fourteenth century, and the walls are made up of the old materials. From the appearance of the wall over the chancel arch, and of the west wall of the church, the original roof seems to have been flat to a certain extent ; the present roof incloses a window high above the tower arch, once external.

is ornamented with a double tier of recessed arches, having semicircular loops. In rebuilding the summit^k of this tower, the crowns of the upper tier of arches have been cut off: in other respects the design seems to be perfect, and quite in the Roman manner. The tower-arch, within, is plain and rude, four feet three inches wide, and sixteen feet and a half high; and, like the loops, is constructed of pebbles; this building being the example before noticed where no freestone is used. It will be observed in the drawing, that the tower-arch has been partly filled up, and that an early pointed arch has been inserted; a further proof of its antiquity. On the tower of Hadiscoe Thorpe a line of shallow buttresses, resembling pilasters, is seen in relief, and there is in this such a correspondence of style with Taseburgh, as to give ground for the opinion that the structures are both Norman; one, from its rude construction, early, and the other, to judge from its characteristics, late.

The towers of Little Saxham and Great Leighs, in Plate III. are examples of the finished style of Norman Architecture; the part above the buttresses of the tower of Great Leighs being of a later period; this tower has a west entrance, which is unusual. There appears to have been a door in the tower of Heringfleet; frequently a west window occurs in the basement story, generally high up. It may be observed that the towers of Great Leighs and Kirby have flat buttresses at the base. Plate IV. exhibits the plain Norman Style in the towers of Piddinghoe, Blundeston, and Welford. In Plate V. the towers of Hadiscoe Thorpe, Hadiscoe, and Heringfleet, and in Plate VI. and VII. architectural features in the Churches of Risby, West Shefford, Thorpe Abbots, and Norton, show a deviation from the Circular to the Pointed, and a mixture of style. At Hadiscoe Thorpe the windows vary in their ornaments, and in the shape of their arches; on the east side is an arch with a billeté moulding, like those of the neighbouring Churches of Hadiscoe and Heringfleet, where straight lined arches prevail. The character of

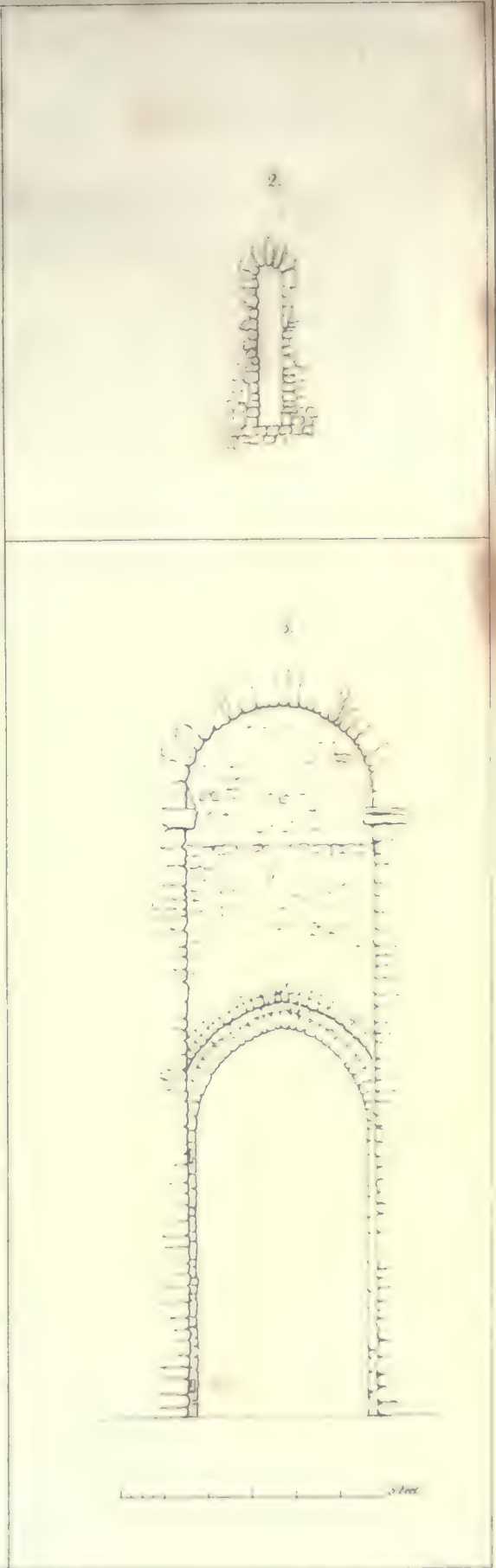
^k Blomefield, in a note to his account of the Parish of Taseburgh, says, "the steeple was rebuilt in 1385," this can only apply to the summit of the tower.

these windows may have been borrowed from the arches in the north transept of Norwich Cathedral, shown in Plate VI. which perhaps are the oldest examples of the kind to be found. The chancel arch of Risby is pointed, with Norman ornaments coeval with the semicircular arch of the tower. The Pointed Style prevails in the tower at West Shefford, and is blended with Norman ornaments in the south door. Plates VIII. and IX. contain illustrations of towers in the Pointed Style, Rushmere, Bartlow, Norton, and West Shefford, all in different counties.

It is obvious there is no affinity between the characters of the English and Irish ecclesiastical round towers; nor, as appears from the preceding observations, is there any foundation for the received opinion that our round towers are of Danish origin. Why they have been ascribed to the Danes I am at a loss to imagine, for the ecclesiastical round tower is not found in Denmark, or Sweden, or along the Elbe, as far as I have been able to learn after much inquiry. If the opinion arise from the circumstance of these towers being found to prevail in East Anglia, it must be remembered that the Danish dynasty subsisted in Northumbria as fully as in East Anglia, and yet not a single example of the round tower will be met with between the Humber and the Tweed. If it rest on the supposition¹ that the artificial mounds near the Church of Bartlow in Cambridgeshire are Danish, raised after the battle of Essendun, or Ashendune, fought between Cnut and Edmund Ironside; and that Bartlow Church with its round tower is the sacred edifice said to have been built^m by Cnut on the spot for the offering up of

¹ Morant's *History of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 539.

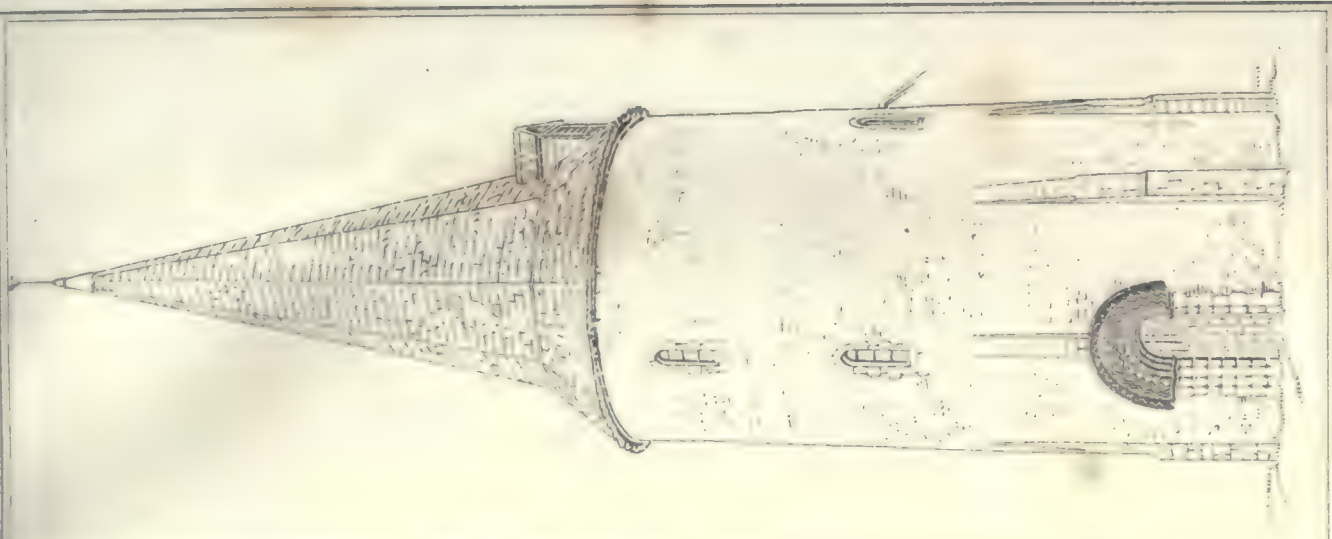
^m "Loca omnia in quibus pugnaverant et præcipue *Aschendune* ecclesiis insignivit, ministros instituit qui per succidua sæculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro animabus ibi occisorum. Ad consecrationem ipsius basilicæ et ipse affuit, et optimates Anglorum et Danorum donatia porrexerunt. Nunc ut fertur modica est ecclesia Presbytero parochiano delegata." *Malmesb. de gestis Reg. lib. ii. c. xi.* Morant says, "It could not be the present Church of Ashdon, because it stands too far from the field of battle, therefore, it is with great reason supposed that it was Bartlow Church, which stands near the hills, and hath a round steeple, being the Danish way of building." Camden and Gough place



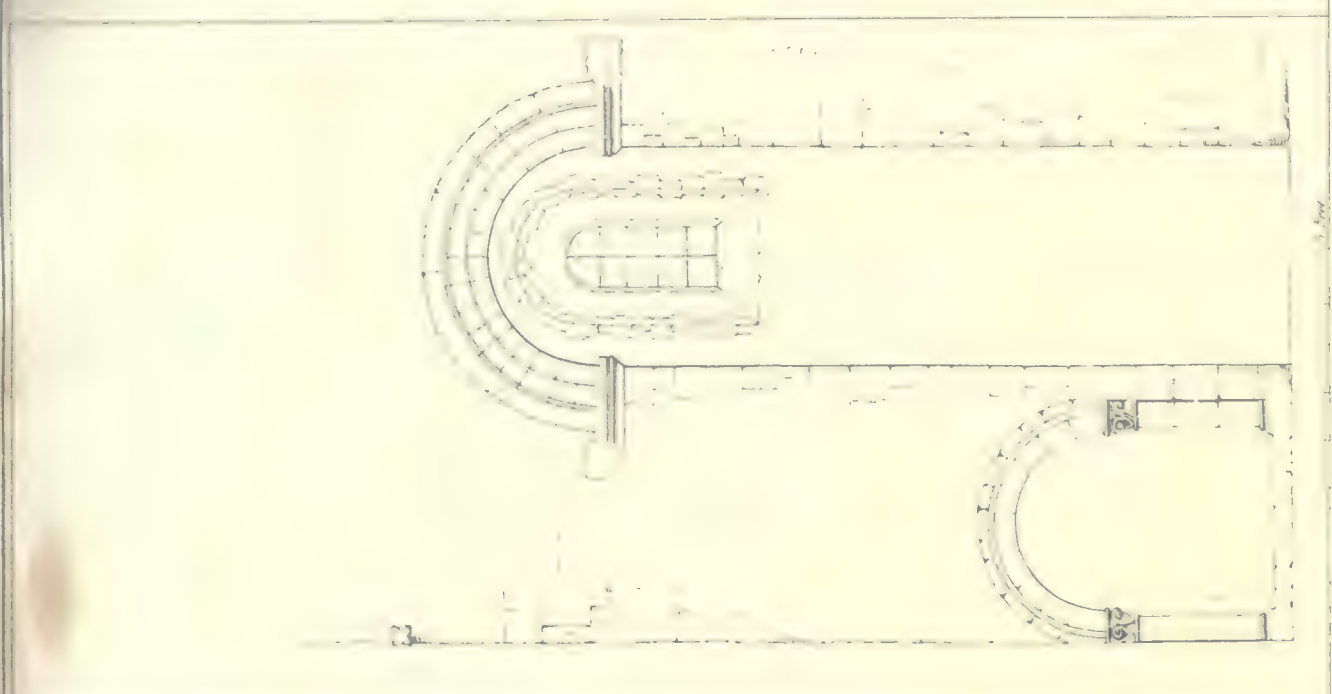
Taseburgh, Norfolk.

1. Tower 2. Loop in the Tower 3. Arch of the Tower.

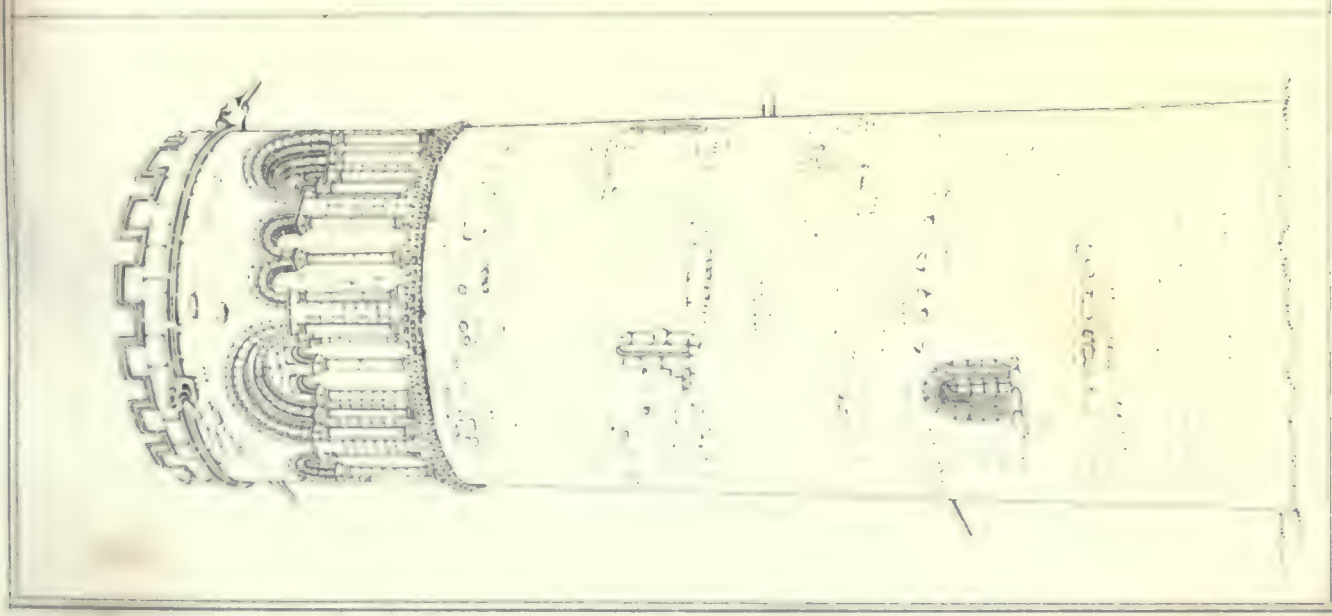




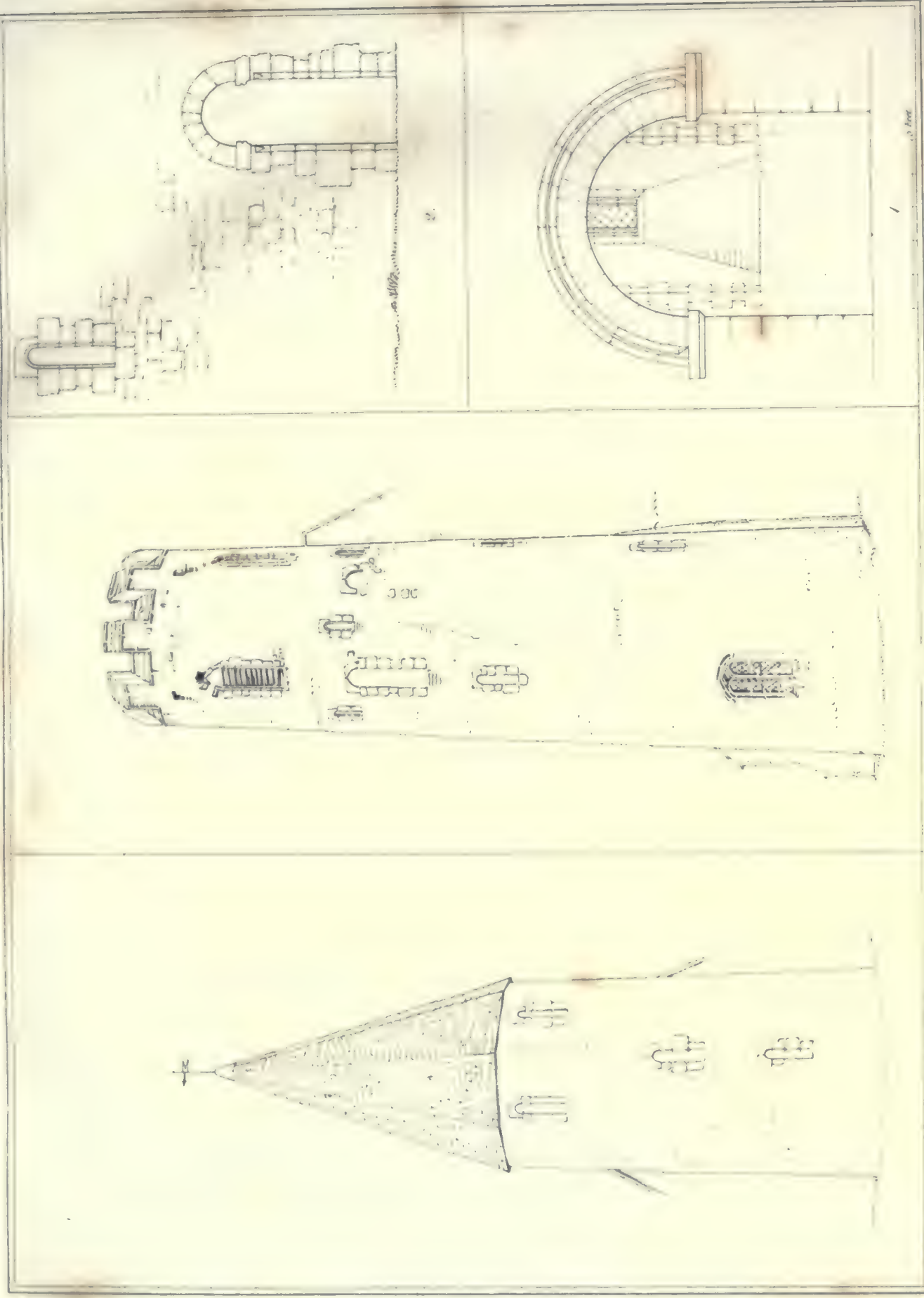
Great Loughs, Essex



Little Sarham



Little Sarham

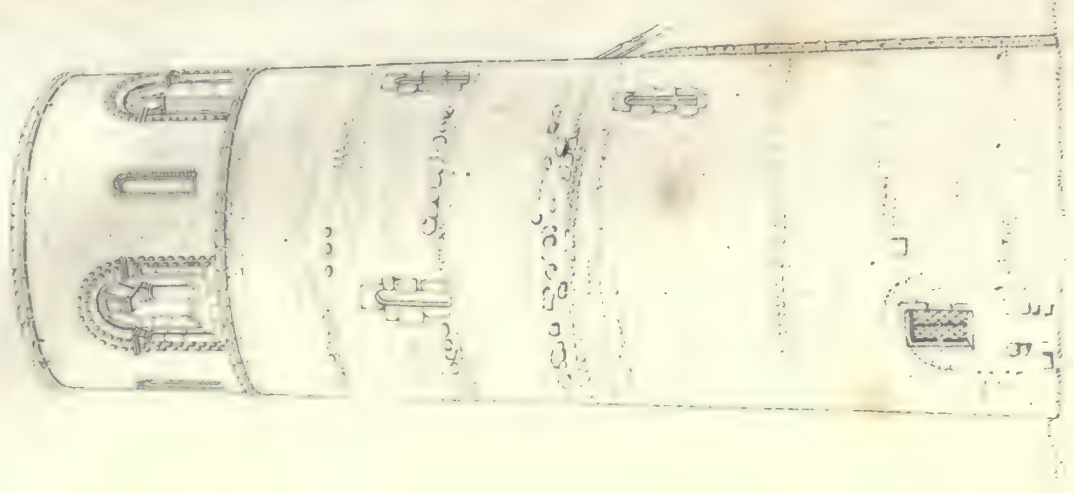
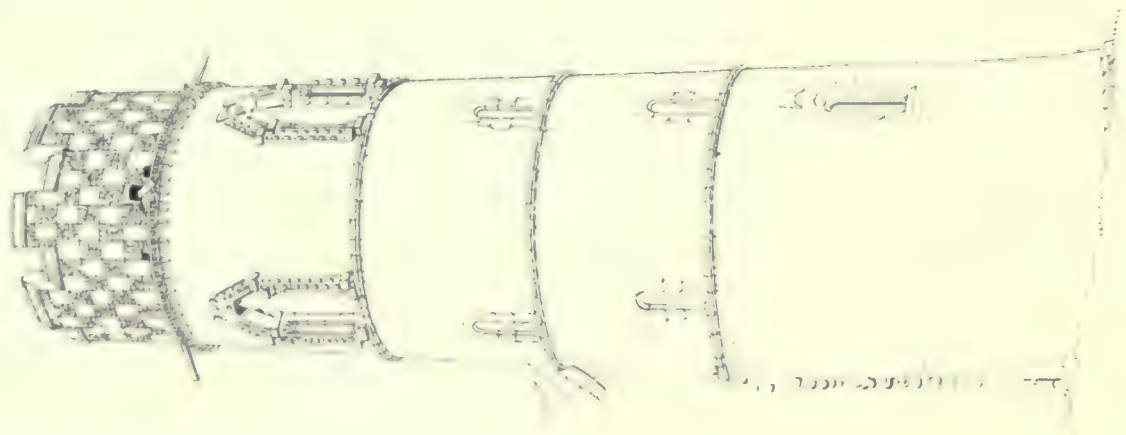


Priddington, Newmarket

Welford, Suffolk

1. West Arch, Welford, Suffolk.
2. West Door of Welford Church.







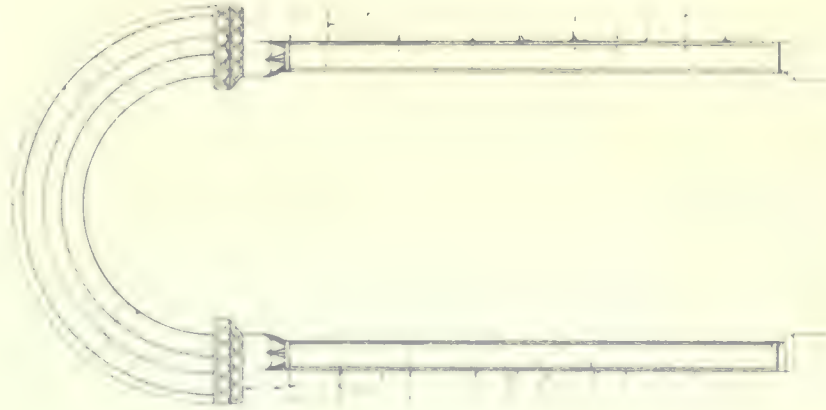
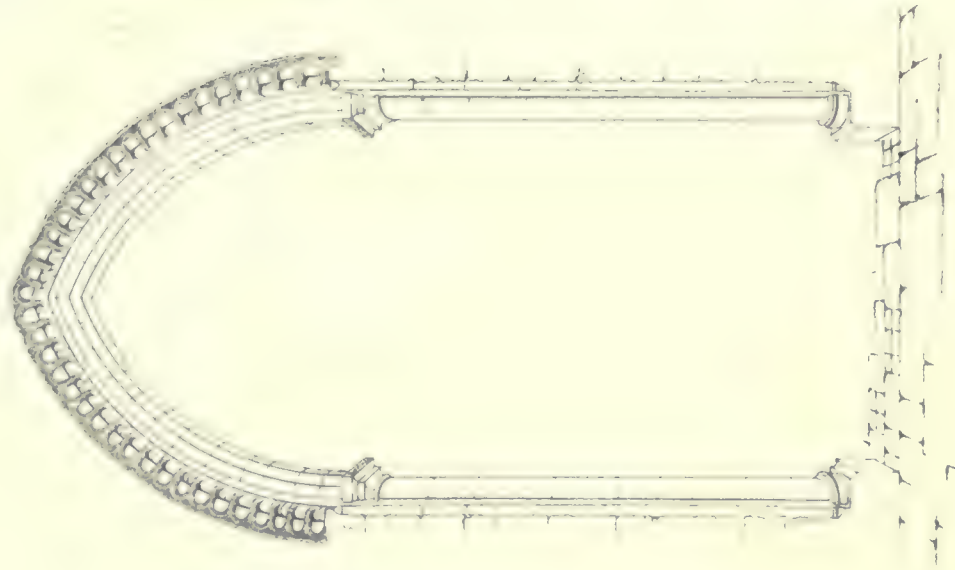
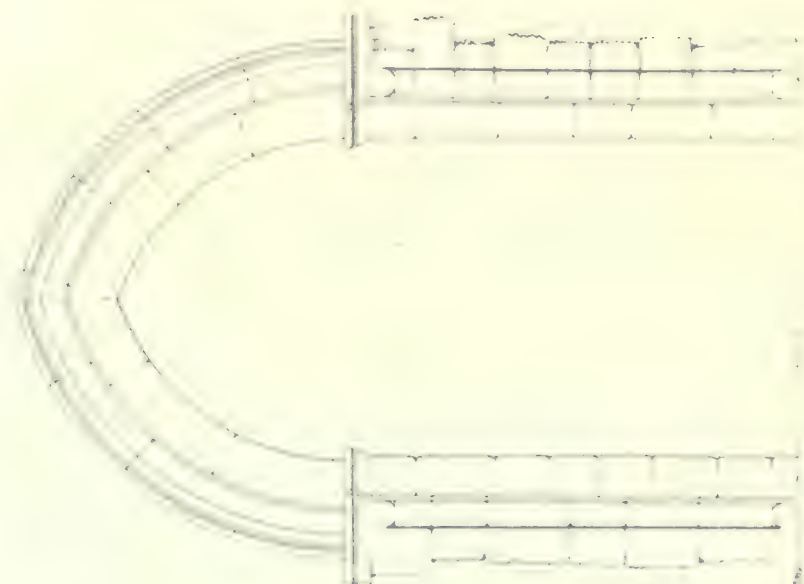


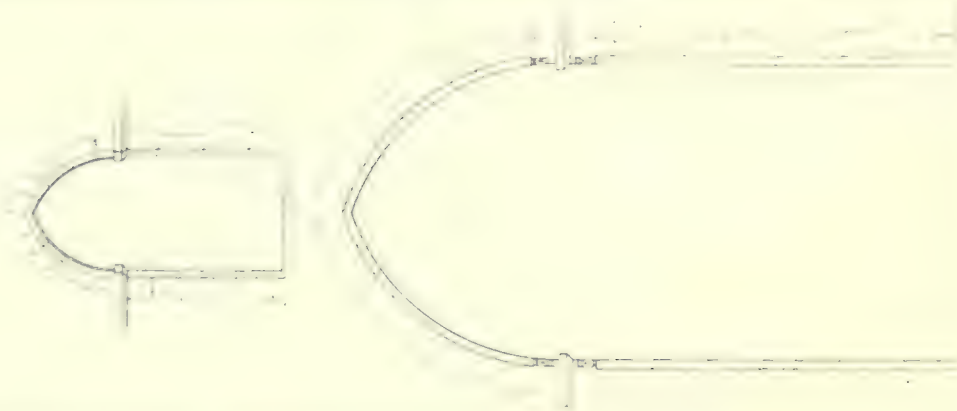
Fig. 1. The archway of the church of St. John the Baptist, Norwich Cathedral.

Fig. 2. The archway of the church of St. John the Baptist, Norwich Cathedral.

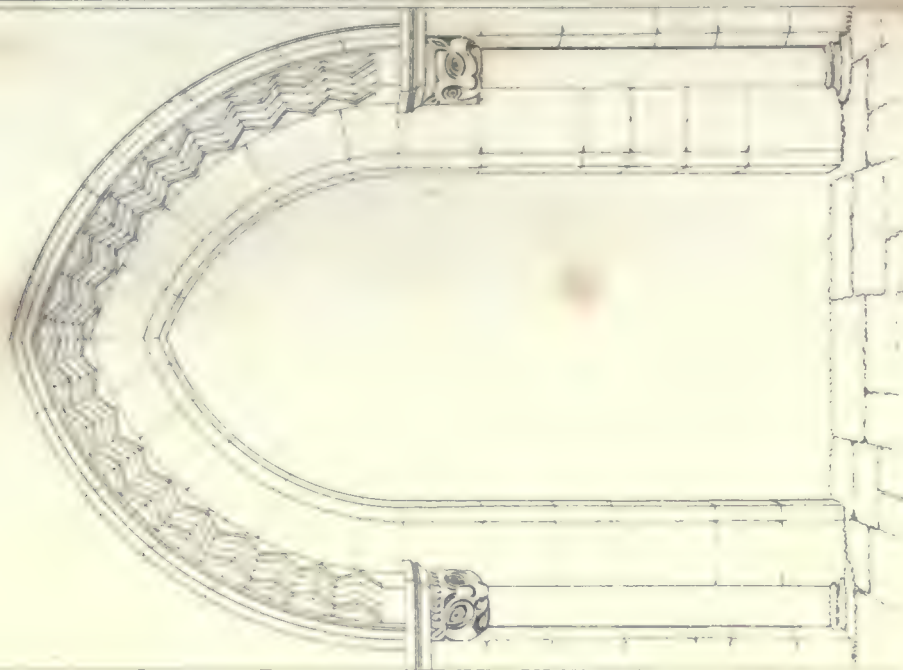




2.



3.



1 North-west Tower, York Minster.

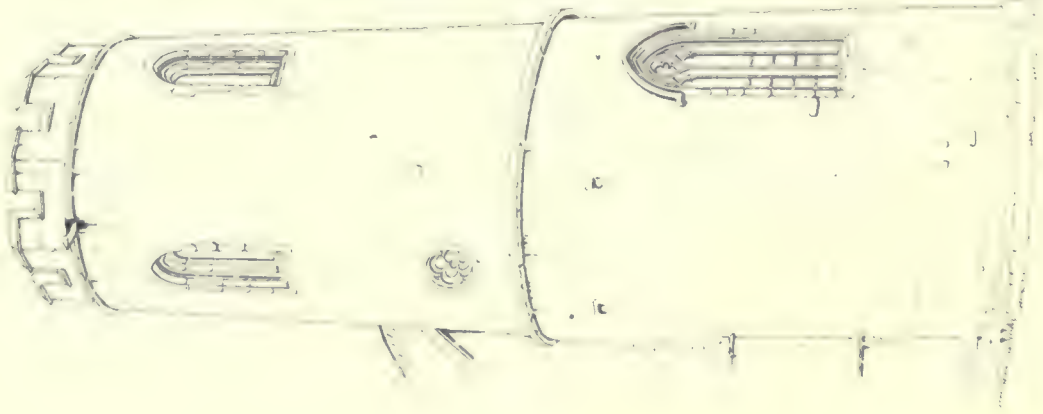
2 West Wall, York Minster.

3 South Door, West Sheffield Bells.

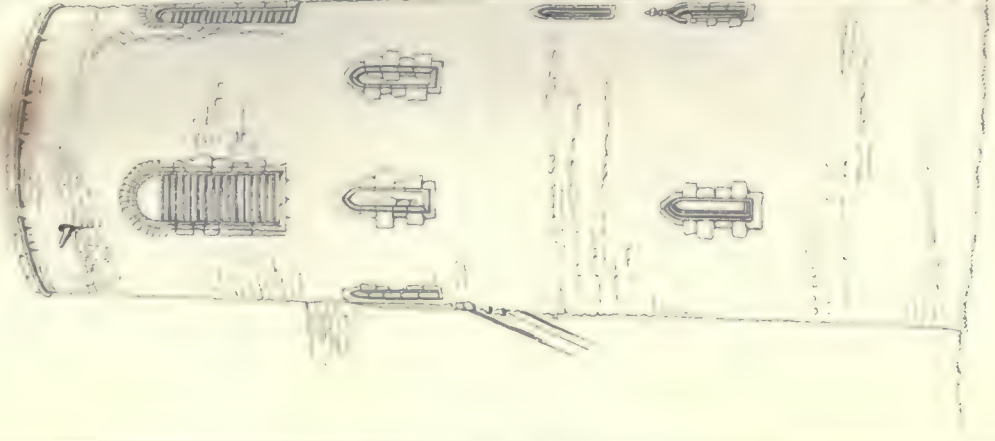




Walsingham, Norfolk

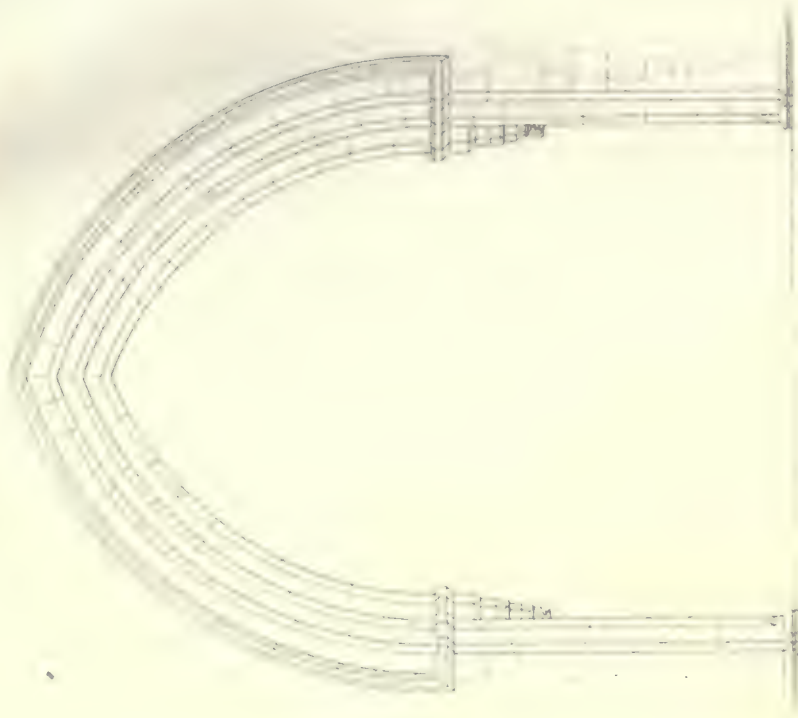
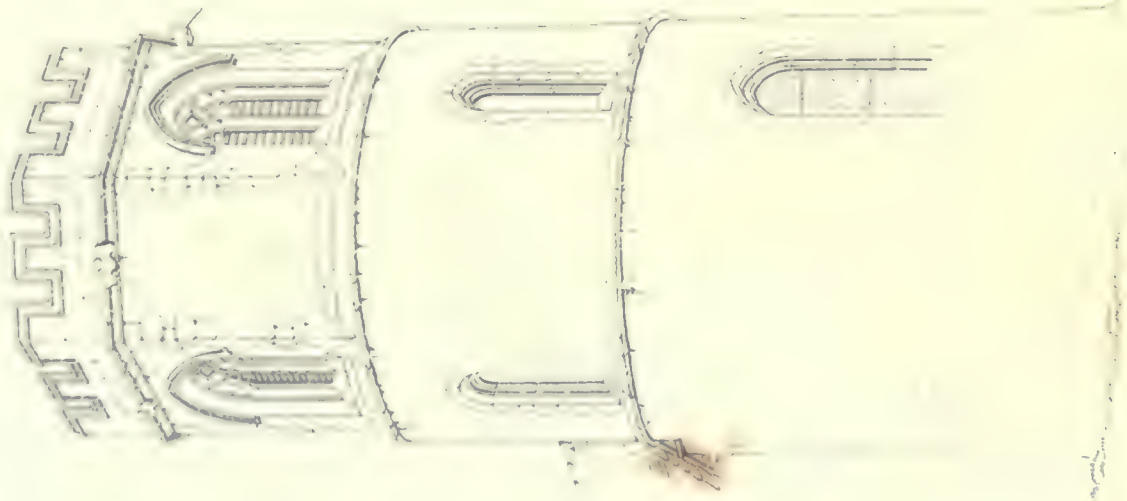


Watlington, Cambridgeshire



Winton, Norfolk





Scale 1/4" = 1'-0"

Inner Arch, West Sheppard

Drawn by J. H. B. 1884



sacrifice for the slain, a glance at that tower, which is a graceful specimen among our illustrations of round towers in the Pointed Style,ⁿ will at once afford a contradiction.

Whether these towers owe their form rather to the fitness of the flinty material of the country for the circular shape, so productive of strength, than to caprice and fashion, it is difficult to decide ; particularly when we reflect that the building of them is chiefly confined to one century ; and that they abound in some, and are rare or not found at all in other districts where flint is the natural product :—that they are imitations of the military round tower I think highly probable ; the disuse of that form may have arisen from its being found not well adapted for bells.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN GAGE.

this battle of Essendun, or Aschendune, at Assingdon near Rochford in Essex ; and Blore, with much probability, at Essendine in Rutland, differing from Morant, who fixes it at Ashdon, on the borders of Essex and Cambridgeshire. The artificial mounds in the Parish of Ashdon, near Bartlow Church, have all the appearance of the great British Barrows. A Roman road runs near the hills, and Roman coins and other antiquities have been found in the neighbourhood. In the garden of the Rectory of Ashdon is a stone trough, said to have been found near the Bartlow hills ; it is in the form of a parallelogram, not large enough for the human body, and not very unlike the stone trough figured in plate XXXVIII of the XIVth volume of the *Archæologia*, and which was found to contain two glass urns.

ⁿ The west window has been altered.

IV. *Petition of Richard Troughton, Bailiff of South Witham, Lincolnshire, to the Privy Council in the reign of Queen Mary, relating to the share taken by him in the Duke of Northumberland's Plot. Communicated by* FREDERIC MADDEN, *Esq. F. S. A. in a Letter to* THOMAS AMYOT, *Esq. F. R. S., Treasurer.*

Read 3rd December, 1829.

British Museum, Nov. 21, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE publication of the curious Chronicle relative to the latter part of Edward the Third's reign, so ably illustrated by you in the last portion of the *Archæologia*, has led me more particularly to examine the volume in which that Narrative, together with many other historical and legal Tracts, is bound up, forming Nos. 6215—6232, of the Harleian Collection. The greater part of these Tracts, as you are, no doubt, aware, were certainly once in the possession of Stow (several of them being written with his own hand), and after his death [1605] passed, with his other papers, into the hands of Sir Simonds d'Ewes, whence they were transferred to the noble library of the Earl of Oxford. So far all is void of difficulty. But there is yet another possessor to be accounted for, between the period of Stow's decease and the acquisition of these MSS. by Sir Simonds d'Ewes—I mean, the person who has numbered, and prefixed a title to, the greater part of the contents of the volume in question, and who simply signs his initials R. St. with the date 1615. I am unable, I confess, satisfactorily to ascertain the individual alluded to, but in No. 6219, I find a paper on the affairs of Scotland, headed by Stow thus: "Out of a great boke of Records borowyd of Master Stevenson." I conjecture, therefore, that it is to

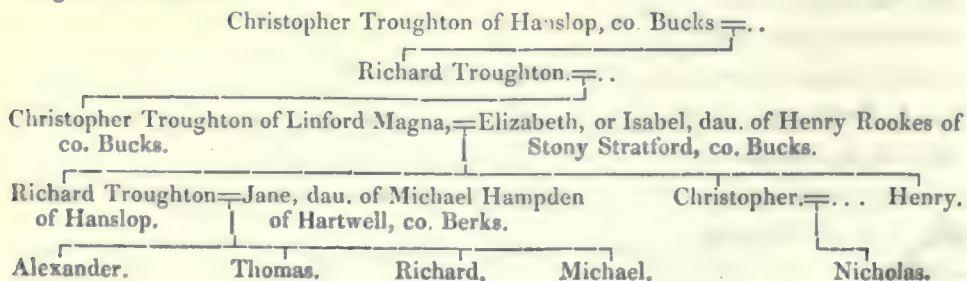
this Master Stevenson we are chiefly indebted for the collection and preservation of the tracts, all of which are more or less valuable to the historian. But one amongst them (marked No. 6222) seemed more particularly to deserve the notice already bestowed on one of its companions, and it is with that view I have made the annexed copy. It is entitled by the hand of R. St. "*A Publication of busenes Passede vppon ye Deathe of E. 6. about Janne Seamors Proclayming Queen, and Queen Mary.*" This affords but a faint idea of the nature of the Paper, which is the original Address or Petition of one Richard Troughton, Bailiff of South Witham, in the county of Lincoln, directed to the Privy Council in the reign of Queen Mary, exculpating himself from certain charges falsely brought against him by Thomas Wymberley and others, for which he was then imprisoned. These charges, so far as can be learned from the reply to them, are reducible to two heads, the first and chief accusation bearing reference to the part taken by Troughton in the Duke of Northumberland's project to set Lady Jane, his daughter in law, on the throne, and the second (of minor importance) touching the delapidation of the church of South Witham. To refute these charges, and to prove they originated in malicious motives on the part of his accusers, Troughton recapitulates a narrative or diary of his actions, from the 11th July 1553, when the news of King Edward's death was first promulgated in that part of Lincolnshire, to the 21st of the same month, when the universal proclamation of Mary as Queen announced the fall of the ambitious Northumberland, and (to use the words of Strype) "all that fine-spun laboured artifice of constituting a new Queen, contrary to a law in force, came to nothing, and brought ruin upon the contrivers."

The chief value of this narrative (remarkable alike for its simple detail of facts and of the writer's feelings), proceeds from the insight it affords us into the manner in which Northumberland's treasonable plot was received by the middle and lower classes of society in the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, and Huntingdon,—a species of information which cannot be gathered from any other source than that offered by a writer

who, like the one before us, is himself an actor in and partaker of every circumstance he relates. Independent, however, of the utility and value of a narrative like Troughton's, in marking the disposition and feelings of a large portion of the community on the subject of Succession, there are in it some curious traits of a biographical character, which add interest to his statement. The message said to have been sent by Mary to Northumberland, that "she would give him his breakfast, dinner, and supper, and if that would not serve, that she had a *Talbot* to bite him by the back," is highly characteristic, not only of the Queen's contempt of her opposer, but of her reliance on the services of Shrewsbury, whose part in this transaction has been unnoticed by our Historians.

With respect to Troughton himself, the writer of this Paper, I have been able to glean but few particulars beyond those recorded by himself. It is possible he may have been related to the family of that name seated at Hanslop and Great Linford, in Buckinghamshire,^a and may there, when a boy of twelve or thirteen years old, have seen Henry the Eighth, Queen Catharine, and the Princess Mary, when stopping at his father's house, an event he relates with peculiar satisfaction. I find also in the account of Henry's private expences, incurred in the summer Progress of 1532, the following entry: "Itm the same daye [21st July] paid to *Robt Troughton* in Rewarde by the kinges comaundement xxij*š*. vjd." p. 234, which may, perhaps, refer to the Father of the individual before us. His wife, as he himself states, was a grand-daughter of Mr. Gardyner of Lincoln-

^a Vide Visitations of Bucks, 1566, 1575, 1634. MSS. Harl. 5181, 1533, 1391, where the Pedigree is thus stated:



shire, and by his marriage he claims affinity with the noted Bishop of Winchester, to whom, as Lord Chancellor and a Privy Councillor, the Petition is, as I imagine, chiefly addressed. This enables me also to determine its date with sufficient accuracy, for since the Bishop's death took place in November 1555, and the superscription to the Petition shows it to have been written after the Queen's marriage in July 1554, we may safely ascribe it to the early part of the former year. I have, however, searched in vain through an Abstract of the Acts of the Privy Council from 1553 to 1558 for any notice of Troughton, although many similar charges against other individuals are mentioned. The residence of this resolute champion of Queen Mary at South Witham, must have commenced, by his own account, about the year 1543, from which period up to the time of his imprisonment, he appears to have been on terms of continual enmity with his accuser Wymberley, arising from a private quarrel respecting a farm held by Troughton from one whom he stiles his *Master*, i. e. Landlord, but whose name does not appear otherwise than as a retainer of the Duke of Suffolk. At length, Wymberley having prevailed on two of his tenants to bear false testimony against Troughton, the latter was committed to prison by the Council, for offences, of which not he, but his accusers are proved to have been guilty, viz. of joining Northumberland's party, and speaking seditious words against the Queen. This last charge may seem to receive support from a passage in the Ecclesiastical Report presented to Cardinal Pole in 1556, on the state of the Diocese of Lincoln (printed by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 389), in which the following entry occurs: "*Thomas Troughton citatus venit coram nobis et commissionariis regiis, sexto Julii, anno Domini 1556. Et convictus fuit maliciosè protulisse hec verba Anglicana, The belles of the churche be the Devil's trumpettes. Ac etiam ista verba, The evil Churche did ever persecute the goode Churche as they do now, precedente sermone de hereticis combustis apud London. Super quo obligatus ad recantationem publicam, per scriptum De recognitione.*" But it will evidently appear from a perusal of the narrative before us, that the writer of it

cannot be the same with the individual above noticed. It is, indeed, worthy of remark, that throughout the whole of Troughton's narrative there is not the slightest allusion to "the new found devilish terms of *Papist* or *Heretic*," and we may be certain Wymberley would not have failed to make use of so powerful an engine, had the object of the attack given any ground for a charge of religious as well of political tergiversation.

What the issue of this affair was, I have been unable to discover, nor is it of much importance for us to know. The name, however, of Troughton continued to exist long after in that part of Lincolnshire; for at the beginning of the eighteenth century, John Troughton, A.M. was Master of the Grammar School at Grantham, and Rector of Barkston.

I have only in conclusion to state, that this narrative does not seem to have been consulted by any of our Historiographers, and that the Transcript has been scrupulously made from the original autograph, with the addition of such few Notes as seemed necessary to render it more intelligible to those who have not a library of reference at hand.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

TO THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S.
Treasurer A. S. &c. &c. &c.

To the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties moste honorable Councell.

Jhūs Maria.

Hit maye please yo^r honorable lordshipes to be adūtised, that vpon tewsdai the xjth daye of July, in the Firste yere of the moste gracyouse Raigh of the Quenes Maiestie [1553], I Richarde Troughton, Balffe of Southwthm, in the Countye of Lincolñ,^a and John Dove, counstable of the same Towne, the said daye & yere standyng together at a Comon wateryng place ther called Hedgedyke, lately stowered^b for Catall to drynke at, That I, the said Troughton, Called on Jamys Prate to me, wiche Pratte was newe come whome, and asked of hyme howe he liked the newe stowered wateryng place, and he answered, well, and desyered God to thanke the doers therof, for hit was y^e best dede, said he, That he knewe done in that towne many a yere beffor. And afterwarde the same Prate aksked^c me what newes I hade harde of Kynge Edward, and I answered hyme, none at all. And Prate said, the Kynge was dede,^d and that I knewe well enoughe. And I denyed hit, for I knewe hit not at that tyme, in dede, wherfor I demaunded of hyme, howe he dyd knowe his graces^e to be departed. And he said, hit was to trewe, For the Quenes hignes was Flede into Northe-ffolke, and laye at Mr. Hurlestons house by the waye.^f Than I said, O

^a In Bettisloe Wapentake, Division of Kesteven.

^b Staked. "Stower, Dyke-stower, a hedge stake. Su. G. *stoer*, palus. In old Latin charters *estuarium*, *estouarium*." Brockett.

^c Asked.

^d Edward VI. died on Thursday, July 6th, 1553.

^e Sic.

^f On the death of Edward VI. Mary was at Hunsdon, in the county of Hertford, but being warned of her danger by a note from the Earl of Arundel, retreated to the manor of Kenninghall, in Norfolk, and thence to the castle of Frenyngham. Holinsh. Lingard.

The Mr. *Hurleston* mentioned by Troughton, can be no other than Sir John Huddleston of Sawston, co. Cambridge, whose name appears as one of Mary's Privy Council, and who is appointed, together with Serjeant Morgan, on the 18th July 1553, to examine all the prisoners concerned in Northumberland's plot. Mary seems to have been in the habit of stopping at his house when on her road to Norfolk; for in a letter from the Council to some Lords in the North, in 1551, they complain, that without any sufficient cause, she

worthe^s hyme villane, that euer he was borne ! (speaking thes wordē by the late Duke of Northūberland, who was causer of y^e Quenes flying, for his Father was a treator and he was a very vyllayn, and his Father wold haue kylled the Kynge Father, Kynge Henry the eighte.^b And the good Kynge was departed by likeⁱ). That, o worthe the same villayn, that euer he was borne ! for I fered he wold go aboutghte to destroye the noble blode of Ingland ; wherfor I drewe oute my dagger in the sighte of the said John Dove and Jamys Prate, and wissed hit at the vyllayns harte wth my hande at hit, as harde as I could thruste hit prēntly face to Face and body to body, what so euer became of my body. And desyered Goddes plage to lighte vppon hyme, and that he myght haue a shorte liffe ; And prayed God to save the Quenes Maies- tie, and to delyuer hir grace from hyme. Wher vppon the said Dove plucked me secretly by the Cote, and said he wold speake wth me ; And so we went apart from Prate, and Dove requyred me to beware what I said agaynste the Duke, for I knewe that Prate was not my frende, and that he wold make the worste of hit. And I answered Dove wth my dagger drawn, agayne rehersing the wordē above mencyoned, I haue

had moved from Newhall, in Essex, to her house of Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, and thence " taken hir journeye toward Norfolke, making hir furst dayes journeye to one Mr. *Hudleston's* howse, in Cambridgshire, being the same to far of for any of her accustomed jornays." Haynes, p. 118. It appears from a subsequent part of Troughton's narrative, that Hudleston's house was burnt by order of the Duke of Northumberland, and probably from the circumstance of his well-known adherence to his Sovereign. The time of Sir John's death may be ascertained from a memorandum in the very curious Diary preserved in MS. Cott. Vit. F. v. where it is recorded: [1557.] " The xj. day of november was bered be syd Cambryste s' John' Hodyllstone knyght, w^t standard, pennon, cote armur, elmet, targat, sword and pensell, & a vj. dosen of skochyons & of torchys."

^s More properly here and below, "Woe worth !" a phrase immediately derived from the Saxon, and used by nearly all our old writers down to the seventeenth century. See Chalmers' Gloss. to Lyndsay, Nares, &c. It is equivalent to "May misery befall !" So, when the Queen of Edw. IV. is told of Gloucester's intentions, she exclaims, "A *wo worth* him, for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blodde." Hall.

^b Troughton alludes to Edward Dudley, the coadjutor of Empson, who was arraigned of high treason, and lost his head on Tower-hill, 28th Aug. 2 Hen. VIII. 1510.

ⁱ Perchance, from a similar cause.

said hit, and I will saye hit wyllē I lyve. And further I said, that Dove shulde see hyme sortely^k Come to his Fathers dethe, for his father was behedded, and so I trusted he shulde be or hit were longe to. And so being a sorrowfull man for the Quenes troble, I departed, and bade theym Fare well at that tyme.

The same nyght, a gentylman of Northumberland, Called Baynebryge,^l Came to Southwthm, and logged at on Awstens house, of whose being ther, so soone as I harde telle, I wente straye waye to hyme, and founde hyme in bedde, and dem^{und}ed of hym from whence he came, and he tolde me from Grantham. I asked hyme what newes ther? And he sayd, the Strangest newes that euer he hard tell of. And so tolde me that the Lady Jane was p^layed at London,^m as a frend of his told hyme at Grantham, wiche was newe come from London, and hard hir p^lamed. And I said, God forbyde y^t shulde be so, for she hade no right to the Crowne; and the Quenes Maiestie was here apparent to the Cr[owne] of Englonde; and that hir grace shuld haue hir right, or ellē ther wold be the bloddyest daye for hir grace that euer was in Inglonde. And he said, hit was non other like, for so hit culde note reste. And I tolde hyme, that I neuer harde of any p^lamacion beffor that tyme, but one hadde told to me the same daye that the Quene was Flede. And Banebryge affirmed y^t to be trewe also. And thane I sayde, thies newes ar not sprede abroad yete, but after they shalbe knowen ther wilbe styryng shortely, and youe shall here other newes orⁿ youe Come to London. And Baynebryge asked me what newes they shuld be. And I told hyme, that Quene Mary shulde be p^lamed Quene of Englonde, and shuld Raigne Quene ouer vs as longe as pleased God, or ellē I and an hundred thowsande suche as I was wold pishe for hir grace sake. And Baynebryge said, ther was not one honest man in all Ingland that wold be againste hir Grace. And so we

^k Sic.

^l The name does not appear in the Visitations of Northumberland.

^m The Proclamation was made on the 10th July 1553. See a copy of it in Burnet's Hist. vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 331. ed. 1816.

ⁿ Before.

bothe prayd God to saue hyre grace, and called the wiffe of the house, and bade hir brynge vs drynke. And she broughte vs a bolle^o of newe alle, and I dranke to hyme, & bade hyme good nyght. And at my departure, he desyered me to helpe [hyme] to a horse, and I sayde, I wold lende hyme one to Stamfford, and Ryde thether withe hyme my selfe in the mornyng betyme; And so departed for that nyght.

Vppon wensday the xiith of July, Banebryge called me at iiij of the Cloke in the mornyng, and so we toke o^r Journey towarde Stamfford. And by the waye as we dyd ryde in co^munycacion, at a place Called Horne Felde, I renewed o^r talke y^t we hade ouer nyghte; and Banebryge prayed God that hit myghte prove as I had tolde hym ouer nyght. And I bade hyme gyve me his hande, and so he dyd gyve me his hande in dedde. And holdyng hyme by the hande, I said, that if he dyd not her tell or he came to London, That the quenes Ma^{tie} shulde be p^lamed Quene of Englund, Fraunce, and Ireland, than afterwarde neuer to truste me to be an honest man. And he said even as he hade marked my speche, so he wold remembre me afterwarde as he shuld see cause. Imedyaty after that Co^munycacyon we mete one Stephen Amore, a man of Nottyngh'm, Co^ming from Stamfford, dryving horse; ladden wth Clothe beffor hyme. And I asked hym from whence he came, and he said oute of Northefolke. And I inquyred of hyme what newes there, and he said, newes that he durste not speake of. I demunded of hyme whye, and he said, that he was trobled by a Justyce of peaxe for tellyng of newes, wherfor he durste tell no mo. And I said, good fellowe, we too ar gentylmen, and honeste men bothe, wherfor I desyer the to tell vs those trewe newes thowe knowest, and we wyll ne^u hurte the wylle we lyve. Wheruppon the sayd Stephyn Tolde vs that he was

^o A bowl, cup, or tankard, with a cover to it. In an Indenture of 17 Ric. II. 1393. John, Lord Cobham, pledged to Thomas Baketone, pewterer, of London, among other articles, "Vne coppe oue couercle appellé *bolle*, que poise dil pois de troye iij*li*. di. once." Cart. Harl. 48. E. 54. In the Rolls of New Year's gifts of Elizabeth's reign, "oone guilte *bolle* with a cover," occurs repeatedly.

sette in the stocke, as I remember, at Stonystonton,^p or elle shulde haue byne, bycause he tolde ther that the Quenes Matie was pclaimed Quene; And that he was bounden to be furthecõnyng to answer at aft tymes to the same. And than I demūded of hyme whether hyr grace wer pclaimed, or not. And Sthephyn sayd, y^t hyr Maiestie was pclaymed at Bery, for he stode by and herde hyte.^q And forthewth reyoysyng in those god newes, I toke of my hate from my hede, and flange hit [vpe] Twise or thrise over my hedde,^r and Cryed wth a loed voyce, God saue Quene Mary! I prayed God save hir grace, and all good people to saye Amē. And so I gaue Stephyn Amore moste hartye thankses for his godly newes, and asked M^r Banebryge whether hit wer trewe or not that I hade tolde hym whan I toke hym by the hande. And s^{'s}, said I, youe ar not yette at Londoñ, and how saye youe to thies newes, is hit not as I told youe? And he said, yes, and said he wold truste my worde the better wyllē he knew me. And so I bade Stephyn Amore Farewell, and Banebryg & I Rodde to Stamfford together, and sette o^r horses at the Angell.^t And afterwards wente into the Towne, to hyer a horse for Banebryge; for I wold lende to hyme myn no Further. And by chūnche, at vij of the cloke in the mornyng we mette wth M^r Fenton, than being Alderman^u of Stamfford; And he desyered me, the said Troughton, to breake my faste wth hyme: And I thanked hyme, and said I culde not tary, for my Frende Banebryge laked a horse, and I wold helpe hyme to one if I could. And the Alderman toke me by

^p In the Hundred of Sparkenhoe, County of Leicester.

^q This important fact of Mary's having been proclaimed at Bury so early in the month of July, is wholly unnoticed by our historians.

^r "The Firste hate or cape that was caste vpe in reyoysyng of y^e Quenes p'clamacion [was] caste vpe in Lincolnshyre." *Margin*.

^s Sir.

^t Inn so called.

^u In the list of Aldermen printed by Butcher and Peck, *Johan Fenton's* name appears for the second time as holding that office in 1552. This dignity, both at Stamford and Grantham, was then equivalent to that of Mayor, and so continued till the reign of Charles II. See Peck's *Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*, fol. Lond. 1727, and Turner's *Collections for the History of Grantham*, 4to. Lond. 1806.

thande, and said, that I and my frende bothe shulde breake our faste with hyme, and he wolde cause a horse to be pydyed for hyme in the meane season; and so we went to breakefast. And whan we hade almoste done, The Alderman tolde me, in the p̄sence of Banebryge & on Mr Broune of Boston, Thomas Howet, and Thomas Tyde, that they hade newes of lady Jane p̄clamede, And a p̄clamacion also. And desyered me to rede the p̄clamacion of lady Jane, and I tolde hyme that I culd not rede any suche thinge, and he said I culde if I wold, and I sayd, I wold not rede hit. But I tolde hym that I harde good newes that mornynge, And y^t Quene Mary was p̄claymed Quene. And he asked me howe I dyd knowe that, and I tolde hyme howe a gentylman mete a Clothe Dryver vppon the waye, and he sayd he harde whan the Quenes hyghnes was p̄clamed at Berye, and stode by, and the gentylman heryng that, Caste vpe his hate, and said, God saue Quene Mary! Than thalderman answered me, that he y^t said so myghte be hanged, and he wold aduyse hyme to beware what he said. And therwthall I, Richard Troughton, answered thalderman wth an othe, that I had Rather he shulde be hanged. For I told hyme that I speaked the worde, and so I wold say agayn, God save hir grace, for she hade a noble Kynge to hir Father, and a noble Quene to hir graces mother. And she was [a] noble Ladye hir selfe, wherunto after the Alderman hade stayed a while, he sayd Amen. And toke me Imedyatyly by the arme, and swere that I was hartely welcom, and I tolde hym if he wold suffer me to eate my mete, so hit was, if not, lycence me to departe, and I wold byde hyme fare well. And he said, not so, for he wold love me the beter wyles I lyved for my good will towardē the quenes maieste; and said I was a Faithfull mane to hir grace. And so wth good chere and hartye thankes, wthout Imprysonement or any evell sayd or done to me, maister Alderman suffered me quyetyly to departe.

The same day I tolde Henry Bromefelld, that hir grace was p̄clamed Quene, and I told to Mr Villers, to Mr Campynet,^x & to M^{res} Aldres,

^x In 1553, 1564, and 1576, Will. Campinet, draper, appears as the Alderman of Stamford, but I know not wheither he was the same with the person here mentioned.

that nowe is, the pclamacion of the quenes Ma^{tie} the same daye, wiche was the fyrste knowlege therof amongenst theym in Stamfford, broughte by Stephyn A[more] and my reporte.

The same daye, withe myche a doo, I caused Thomas Tyde to Ryde with me, the said Richard Troughton, oute of o^r wayes toward^e Exton, wher s' Johñ Haryngton dyd dwell.^y And by the waye I mete one Thomas Fawkener, s'ünt to s' Johñ Haryngton, and asked hyme whether he Rode. And he said his m^r sente hym aboughte Rutland, to charge men that wer appoyntted to muster, that they shuld not sture at all, tyll they hard from his said Maister. And so Furthewth I Tolde Thomas Fawekener that the Quenes Mayestie was pclamed at Bery, and desyered hyme to pupplyshe hir grace pclamacion to all men, to whome he was appoyntted to goo; & he asked me whether he myghte reporte hyt for a treweth or not, and I bade hyme speake hit openly, vppon danger of my liffe, for it was trewe, and I wold saye hit agayne will^e I lyved. And he badde God blesse my harte for my gode newes,

y Exton is situated in the Hundred of Alstoe, co. Rutland. From the Visitations of Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire, it appears that Sir John Harrington was the son of John Harrington, of Exton, Esq. by a daughter of Henry Southwell. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Motton, by whom he had Sir James Harrington, Knt. of Exton, whose son Sir John Harrington, Knt. was created Lord Harrington of Exton, by James I. 21 July 1603. The arms borne by this family are, *Sable*, a fret *Argent*, hence called a *Harrington's knot*. The death of Sir John Harrington mentioned in the text, is thus recorded by an anonymous Chronicler of that period (MS. Vitell. F. v.) so largely quoted by Strype: "The xvij day of August ded ser John [Harrington *] knyght of Rottland shyre w^{tin} saynt El[enes] Byssopgatt stret & ffrom y^t day y^t he ded tyll he was cared in to ys contray, was mas & dirige evere day songe, & Monday ye iiij day of Septe[mber] whent into ye contray in a horse lytter, w^t [ys] standard & ys penon of armes, & after ys horse w^t iiij pennons of armes borne a bowt hym, & w^t a goodly helmet gylt, w^t targett, sword & crest, & a x dosen of shochyons, & x dosen of pensels for a herse, & staff torches, & a herse of wax, & a fere mageste, & ye walans gylded & fryngyd, & so to Warc, & so on."

* The manuscript has, unfortunately, been much damaged by fire, and the lacunæ are therefore supplied from Strype, *Ecc. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 35. ed. Oxon.

and desyered me to ryd to his m^r. I answered, that was the cause of my Rydyng to Exton, to tell his m^r those godly newes. And Fawken' said, to her tell therof hit wold do more good to his m^r than all the treasure he hadde, For he was a hevy gentylman for hir grace. And so at o^r departyng I desyered the said Fawkener to remember to tell abrodde the Quenes p^lamacion, to styre vpe menes harte. And he sware to me that he wolde so do, and prayed God saue hir grace, & deffende hir, for hir grace hade hall menes harte. And I tolde hyme that God wold deffend hir grace, and that I & on hundrethe thowsand suche as I was, wold sheede o^r harte blooddes in the defence of hir grace, or hit wer longe to, but hir grace shuld haue hir grace righte, and so we departed.

Imedyatly after, the same daye, I came to Exton, and s' Johñ Haryngton was walked a brodde into the feldde. And Thomas Tyde and I wente to seke hyme on Fote, and we mete M^r Johñ Markeham, s' John Haryngtons s'üntte, and asked hyme where his m^r was, and he said, he taryed for hyme ther, and that he wold cume thether or hit wer longe to. And I tolde M^r Markham howe the Quenes highnes was p^lamed at Bery, and he reyoysyng, wth thankes gyving prayed God save hir grace from hir adūsary, and all we sayd Amen. And M^r Markeh'm sayd, the Duke hade made hyme selfe stronge, for he hade gotton the towre^z & all the ordyūnces of artylary, and all the treasure into his owne handde. And I sayd, Fye of money In cōparison to menes harte! And that vyllans myght be hyred for money, but honest men wold not be hyered withe all the money the Duke hadde, agaynst ther owne consciences. And M^r Markeh'm answered, that he knewe no man that love hym but for feare. And after this Coñunycacion S^r Johñ Haryngton and M^r Fizwyll'ms of Lincolñ^a came to vs, and I dyd my dewtye

^z Sir James Croft was dismissed from the Constablenesship, and Edward Lord Clinton, then Lord Admiral, took possession of the Tower, with all the royal treasures and munitions of war. Strype. Lingard.

^a This is probably the same person who married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir John Harrington, and widow of Dymock. He is called in the Visitations, William Fitzwilliams, and said to be the son of Humphrey Fitzwilliams of Scampton.

towardē hyme, and he dyd bede me wellcom; askynge from wence I came, he demūded what newes, And I tolde hyme that the Quenes Maiestie was pclamed at Bery. And sodenly he loked vpe into the Elyment,^b and sayd, God saue hir grace! And asked howe I knewe hit to be so, and I aunswered hyme, that a man of Credyte stode by and hard the pclamacion, and tolde me, and that hit was trewe in dedde, whereat s' Johñ Haryngton reyoysyng very myche, wente into his house abouthte ij of the Clocke in the after none the same daye, and gyving me thanks for my newes, Coñūded me to syte at table by hyme, and Called For bere and wyne, (wiche was seldome sene at that tyme of the daye, That he wold dryke^c betwixte meales,) And in the p̃sence of Mr Fyzwill'ns, Mr Markeham, Thomas Tyde, and others, s' Johñ Haryngton toke the bolle of wyne, and said he wolde drynke to the godly newes, that I hade broughte to hyme, And I dyd plege hyme reue-
rently. After oʳ drynkyng he was very mery, and sodenly went into his parlor, & broughte furthe a Statute boke, and layde hit awpen, vppon the borde,^d that eũy man myghte rede hit; And had noted the substaunce of the Statute for the declaracion of the Quenes Maiesties ryght to the Crowne of Englund, after the deathe of Kynge Edward.* And so, poyntyng to hit with his Fynger, sayd neu a word, but departed into his parlor agayne, & Mr Fizwill'ns followed hyme. And Thomas Tyde & I were Coñūded to Tary supper, and so we dyd, and than departed from S^r Johñ Haryngton, who made very myche of vs in the sighte of all his s'ũnttē, for the newes I broughte hyme of the pclama-
cion afforsaid.

Vppon thursday, the xijth of July, in the said yere of the Quenes most psperous Raign, I was at myn own house all daye, in Southwthm, and psone Wynter and I walked together. And the psone tolde me, That

^b Used by the writers of the Elizabethan æra for the *air*, or *the visible compass of the Heavens*. See Shaksp. *Jul. Cæs.* A. i. sc. 3, and Nares' *Gloss*.

^c Drink.

^d Table.

^e Stat. 35 Hen. VIII. intituled "An Act for the King's succession to the Crowne." vol. iii. p. 955, new edition Stat. of the Realm.

he harde saye that I hade spoaken sore wordē agaynst the Duke of Northumberland, wiche were the wordes spoaken in the p̄sence of John Dove and Jamys Prate, the xjth daye of July afforsaid, wherfor he desyered me wth teres, to kepe sylence for a tyme, and God wold worke all for the beste. And I answered hyme, my concyence was determyned, and agaynste my conscyence I wold not kepe sylence in that behalffe, wylle I lyved. And so we went to Pratte housse, and ther mete withe Prate, And I, the afforsaid Richard Troughton, declared to Prate the pclamacyon I harde tell of, as I hade done beffor to all oth' honest men that I Coude mete wthall.

Vppon Fryday the xiiijth of July, I, the said Richard [Troughton], and s'^f Robert Wynter, Clarke, went into a pece of medowe called Northebelles, belongyng to Southwthm afforsaid, and thether came John Dove, Counstable of Southwthm, and told me that the cause of his Cōmyng was, to haue my Councell. And I demūded what the matter shulde be, and he said, that he was cōmūded by the cheffe Counstable sent from the Justyces, to brynge all the able men of the towne beffor theym to Fockyngh'm,^g to mvsture ther, To go to the Duke of Northumberland; and that I and W^m Awsten, with Robert Braunesby, my s'ūntte, must nedde be ther, for oūr names were in the boke. And I said (yo^r lordeshipes honors reuerently spoaken of) he was a very knave that put my name into the boke,^h and asked the Counstable whose dedde hit was, and he poyntted to the person, sayng, her he standethe that pute in yo^r name; wherfor I told the psone that he was a lewedⁱ mane, and bade hyme medle withe that he hade to do in. Afterwardē Dove requyred me to councell hyme what was beste to be done, and I said y^t I wold gyve hyme no councell in suche maters. Why s', said Dove,

^f The same person who is mentioned above, now called *Sir*, according to the ancient usage of bestowing that title on a graduated Clerk.

^g A market town in Aveland Wapentake, division of Kesteven. The manor and castle of Folkingham, in the time of Leland, belonged to the Duke of Norfolk, but being forfeited by attainder, was granted by Edward VI. to the family of Clinton, in exchange for lands in the county of Worcester.

^h The words *being at London*, which here follow, are struck out.

ⁱ Ignorant.

to whome shulde we resorte for counsell, but to youe? And than I plucked out my dagger, Sayng by the Duke of Northumberland, who worthe hym villane, whose Father was a treatour, that euer he was borne! for he hathe brought me into suche a pplexitie, that I am not able to counsell my neighbo^r, wherfor I wold the dagger wer at his harte, as hard as I Coulede thruste hit, what so euer became of me aft^rwarde, like a villayn as he is! And I willed Dove, if he wold be ruled by me, to Stee^j hyme selfe, and to medle no mo^r in the mater, and theruppon he depted from the pson and me.

The same daye, the psone and I wente to an alle housse, aboughte iij of the Cloke in the after non, and ther playinge at Card^e for drynke, John Dove & Will^m Swenyng being at the Church housse ther, in cōmpany wth myn adūsaryes Thomas Wymberley^k and Johñ Rogers, I sente for the said Swenyng and Dove, to come and drynke wth me. And they pmysed, but came not, wherfor I departed whomwordde. And Coñyng [to] Theym as they wer talking, Swenyng asked me whether I was goying so Faste, and I told hyme whome ward^e, and Swenyng prayed me that they myght drynke wth me, and I said, Than lete vs haue no more talke, but go drynke to-gether, and if ye will; if not, I will departe; wheruppon we all v wente together into thalle house agayne. And Imedyatly came thether to vs Fraunce Flower, gentylman, Edmond Mussū, and Elle of Northwthm¹, and asked me Councell for setting oute of men on the next day to Fockyngh^m afforsayd. And I speake beffor theym all, that this counsell I hade & wold gyve to my neighbo^re, that they shuld not be to hastye, for of all other they oughte

j Stay.

k In MS. Harl. 1550, containing the Visitations of Lincolnshire in 1562 and 1592, is a coat of arms granted to Thomas Wimberley of Bitchfeld, in com. Lincoln, 16th July, 30 Eliz. [1588] viz. *Argent*, two bars *Or*, in chief three stags' heads caboshed of the *Second*. This Thomas was apparently the son of the person mentioned by Troughton. He subsequently removed to Spalding, in the same county, where his son, Beville Wimberley, was settled in 1621.

¹ In Bettisloe Wapentake, county of Lincoln.

(sayd I) to Staye theym selffes, bycause the towne belongethe to the Crowne of Englund. And Forasmiche as the Towne belonged to the Crowne, they ought not to sture tyll they knewe Further. And if any emongest theym wolde nedde go, I said then I wolde wishe hyme to go whan s^r Johñ Haryngton went, for he wold not go but the ryghte waye. And I told theym Further, That I was moste bounden to love the Quenes Maiestie, For that, that Quene Katheryne, hir grace mother, prayed God to make me a good mane when I was xij or xiiij yeres of age, Kyng Henry & Quene Katheryñ lying bothe in my Fathers house in those dayes, and the Quenes Maiestie was ther also.^m And Furwytheⁿ I toke Mr Flower by the hande, and lede hyme into the yerde, and tolde hyñ of the Quenes pclamacyon made at Bery, wth other sufficient talke agaynste the Duke, and what deathe he shuld cume to, whervppon we came in, and Steyd the townshippes of Southwthñ and Northewthñ for that tyme. And than came Mr George Wyllyms of Denton^o his man for me, and tolde me that his m^r was at my house, to speake wth me, and so I departed whomewardē. And at my

^m If Troughton were related to the family of that name in Co. Bucks, this event might have taken place in one of the Summer Progresses of Henry, after the birth of Mary in 1516, and there is some reason to suppose it occurred in 1532, which would make Troughton, at the time of writing his Petition, about thirty-five or thirty-six years of age. In 1533, Henry visited Stamford and other towns of Lincolnshire in his way to York, but the Queen could not at that time have been with him.

ⁿ Forthwith.

^o Denton is a village situate in the Soke of Grantham, and in the church are monuments of the Williams's, Welby's, and Cholmley's, the three families of distinction in the parish. *Beauties of Engl. and Wales*. From the Heraldic Visitations, the above George Williams appears to have been the grandson of Thomas Williams, of Aberconway, in Wales, and son of William Williams, of Stamford, co. Lincoln. He married Alice daughter of Richard Coney of Basingthorpe, in the same county, and in 1554 was one of the Representatives of Grantham in Parliament. Turnor's Collect. p. 115; MSS. Harl. 1436, 1550. In the Ecclesiastical Return made to Cardinal Pole in 1556 of the state of this County, is this item: "Magister [Geo.] Williams de Dentonne detectus, quod abstulisset plumbum cancelli de Ewarbie," for which he pleaded a Commission granted by Edw. VI. See Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. pt. 2. p. 410. He left his son, Richard Williams of Denton, his successor, and the ancient mansion house of the family still exists.

cõnyng thether I Founde Mr Wyllyams, Mr Balye of Essen,^p and Mr Fraunce Armstrong^q together in my housse. And after we wer mete together, They said that they wer cume to knowe whane I wold go to my m^r, and I answered theym, whene my m^r wold send for me, and not beffor, For suche Com'undement he gave me at my departyng, wiche was not a Fortnyghte beffor that day. And they said, they wold go, and I bade God Spede theym, for I wold not Sture oute of my howse tyll I knewe Further. And as we wer this cõmonyng Emongyste o^rselves, The cheffe Counstable, Called Shepe, of Lyttylbyth'm,^r Came into my housse, to charge me & my sayd ij men, W^m Awsten & Robert Branesby, to cume beffor the Justyce at Fockyng'h'm, on the morrowe, to the musters ther. And shewed me a byll of all thei^r names that shuld be thei^r. And I toke the byll From hyme, and withe my pene, beffor those gentylmen, I dyd blotte oute my name & my menes names. And the cheffe counstable asked me why I dyd so, and I told hyme that nether I, nor yete any of myn shulde cume to suche musters. And he sayd, I was to blame to do so. And I answered, if hit wer not well blotted I wold blotte hyt better. And so I dyd beffor theym agayn, and bade the Counstable tell the Justice that I wold not come beffor theym, vnles I knewe Further than I dyd, wherwth he being angry, departed, wth his boke evyll Faveredly blotted. And afterwarde I came to the psones styll, and ther was myn adūsary Thomas Wymberley, and emongest other talke, as I was goying over the styll, he bade God save lady Jane, other wise called then Quene Jane, and I said in dyrysyon, God saue hyre to, for she neu^{er} hurte me; as in dede, but only in hir treatorous and detestable treason, she dyd neu^{er} offend me, for I never sawe hir nor knewe hir in all my liffe.

Vppon Satterdaye the xvth of July, Rydyng towardē Granth'm, and

^p Easton, in the Soke of Grantham.

^q Probably the Mr. Francis Armstrong of Coxby, co. Linc. in the Visitation of 1562. Leland, in his Itinerary, speaking of this place, writes, "wher dwellith a Gentilman of mene lands caullid *Armstrong*." Vol. i.

^r Bytham Little, in the Wapentake of Bettisloe.

mys'unt Wyll'm Awsten wth me, Banebryge overtoke me by the waye, and told me of the Duke of Northumberlande Jorney towardē Cam-
bryge, and what hurly burly he made in Smythefeld, as hit was re-
ported, And that he was affrayd of the Dukes army, and that was the
cause of his retornyng agayn From London. And so we Rode together
to Grantham, and denyd ther at y^e George,^s and mete wythe Frenyng-
h'm. And I demūded of hyme from whence he came, and he tolde
me From Barwike, wher he hade byne to pclame lady Jane. And than
I told hyme of the Quenes pclamacion at Bery. And he said he harde
tell of hit. I answered hym that hir grace was & shuld be quene, or
elle an hundred thowsand suche as I was wold dye for hir grace. And
hit was nether my lord of Northumberland nor my lorde of Suffolke
that Culde sette vpe a Quene amongeste vs at theiř pleasures. And
Frennyng'h'm Smylynge vppon me, answered, y^t God knew his concy-
ence, and desyered me to departe, for he was weary, and wold go to
bedde. And thys was spoaken in the presence of M^r Banbryge, Johñ
Buddes, the Good wiffe of the house, and dyuers others.

The same day I dyd perswade many towardē y^e Quene, and pup-
lished the Quenes pclamacion to all I spake to. For the Justices wer
very bussy amongst Sogeres,^t to sett theym forwardē to the Duke that
daye, but I neuer came amongst the Justices at any tyme, duryng that
myscheffe & treason.

As I was rydyng whomewardē the same day, I overtoke sogers by
the way, namely oñ Hyman and his fath, Soppe of Coltesworthe,^u and
oñ Hewetson, wth others. And I demūded of theym whether they
wer goyng, and they answered, towardē the Duke of Northumberland.

^s An Inn of this denomination (and probably on the same site) still exists. "The town
is neat and well built, is famous for its commodious Inns, especially the *George* and *Angel*."
Howlett's Select Views of Lincolnshire, 4to. Lond. 1805.

^t Soldiers.

^u Colsterworth, in the western corner of the Soke of Grantham, and about eight miles
from the town of Grantham. This parish is become celebrated from Sir Isaac Newton
having been born within it. See *Turnor's Collections*, p. 153.

And [I] said, evill myghte they spede, and all that went to hyme. And they said I was a mery gentylman, desyeryng me to gyve theym xx^d to drinke, for they wer drye (the wether was whotte^x). To whome I made answer, that they shuld drynke horspyse, or they had any money of me. And that I trusted or the Duke or any that wente to hyme shulde haue power to Come ner the quene, that they all shulde be compelled to drynke horsepise. And so I and Johñ Buddes rode from theym, Rayling at me, and one of theym Called me Treator^r, and sware he wold tell the Duke what I sayd.

Vppon sonday the xvijth of July, I went to Coltersworthe, and pswaded Thomas Tyde y^t in any wise he shuld not go to London, and tolde hyme playnly the Duke shuld lose his hedde for that treason comyttyd, or hit wer longe to cume,^y and that he was the vylyst traytor and vyl-layn that euer was.

Vppon mūday the xvijth daye of July, I & but iij of my mene wth me, in the Company of Mr Willyams, Thomas Tyde, Wyll'm Fisher, and Johñ Buddes, Rode to Stamfford. And by the waye I tolde Wyll'm Asten, that I hade appoyntted wth my wiffe that she shulde Suffer hyme to take all my harnes and weapons, and hyde theym from that Treator. For I hade Rather they hade byne molton in his bely, than he shuld have hade any pece of theym, or any that went towardē hym. And Further I said y^t I wolde go to my m^r, because he hade sente for me, and at my Comyng to hyme, if he wolde take the Quenes parte, as I trusted he wold, I wold tary wth hyme, or elle I wold forsake hym vterly, and go to the Quenes Maiestie, whersoē hir grace was, or elle I wold dye for hit. Thies wordē wer spoaken in the heryng of a worke-man, that was plast'hyng of a hege, who reported theym to Gabryell Roughte gent., and Gabriell tolde me of the poremans reporte, but y^e poreman I knowe not vnto this daye, but he wilbe brought Furthe by the said Gabryell.

^x Hot.

^y The Duke of Northumberland was beheaded August 22nd the same year (1553).

The same daye, aft̃ my Comyng to Stamfford, I Rode to Burley,^z halfe a mylle from Stamfford, to see my m^{rs} mother, and hade no man wth me. And as I was retorning towardē Stamfford agayne, I over toke one Robert Leggerd, s'ūntt to M^r Wyllyams of Denton, goyng towardē Stamfford, and caused hyme to ryde behynde me. And tolde hyme that the Duke was the vyliste vyllan and Treator that eũ was, and that he being a yonge man, shuld se hyme Cume to as vylle a dethe shortly. And that or he shuld haue his Treatorous mynde Fullfylled, I and oñ hundrethe thowsand suche as I was, wold dye agaynste hyme. And that the quenes ryght shuld be deffended agaynst hyme, or elle I wold neuer cume whome agayne. And prayd God to deffende hir grace xvj dayes, and than hir grace shulde haue men a noowe, wherof I wold be one. And so desyered hym to praye for me, and he answered that he wold praye for me, and remember me, whether he eũ sawe me agayn or neũ. And so departed.

Vppon Tewesdaye the xvijth daye of July, I came into Fethersstons^a housse in Stamfford, and ther I sawe sete vpe a picture of the Quenes Maiesties, made in the Raighn of Kyng Henry the Eighte. And Imedyatly I Called the wyffe of the housse to me, and asked hyr if she dyd know whose pycture hit was; she answered she Could not tell. And than I pute of my Cape, and sayd hit was the picture and Image of Quene Mary. And bade God saue hir grace, for hir grace was and shulbe quene of Englund, or elle I wolde neũ be sene in Stamfford agayn aft̃ that daye. Also I prayid the wiffe to kepe the picture well tyll I cam whome agayne, and in the meane tyme to praye for hir grace. And ther stode one by, and bade pluke hit downe. And I swere a othe, that what soeũ he was that wold pluke hit downe in my sighte, I

^z Burleigh, in Northamptonshire, near Stamford.

^a I do not find this name in the Visitations of Lincoln, but the family must certainly have been settled here, for in 1597 *Lionel Fetherstone* was Alderman of the town, and in the list of benefactors occurs *Margaret Fetherstone*, of St. Martin's parish. Drakard's Stamford, p. 580. One *Federston* was Tutor to Mary when Princess, as appears from a letter of Queen Katherine, printed in Ellis's Orig. Letters, vol. ii. p. 19. First Ser.

wold thruste my dagger into hyme. And so the wiffe sayd she wolde praye for the Quenes hyghnes, and sette mor by the picture than eu she dyd, for she neu knewe what hit was beffor that tyme. And than he that bade pluke hit downe, said to me, that for my faithfullnes toward hir grace I was prayse worthy, and that he spake hit only to prove what I wold saye. And so we departed from thence. His name is Wyll'm Fisher, and he dwelleth in Grantham.

The same daye I called Wyll'm Awsten to me, and tolde hym that I wold send hyme whome, to hyde all my harnesses & weapons, That nether the Duke nor any that toke his parte shuld haue any thing that myn was, to go against the Quenes Maiestie. And that I hade rather my harness were molten in his bely, like a vyllayn and treatour as he was, than he shuld haue any parte therof. And tolde the same Awsten, that my wife was preavy to my mynd, and knowyng therof, and what he shuld do therin at his Comyng whome, wherfor I wyllde hyme to do hit wth spede, for fear the Justices wold send for hit. And further I told my s'üntt Wyll'm Awsten, that my m^r had sente for me, wherfor, like a s'üntt, I wold go to hym, and tell hyme my concyence. And if he wold take the Quenes parte I wolde tary wyth hyme, and if not, he shulde be no M^r of myne, but I wold vtterly forsake hym, and go to the quenes hignes, or elle I wolde dye for hit. And prayed my said s'ünthe, that if he wer compelled, after my departure, to go forthe, That than he wold cume strayte to the quenes campe, for ther he shuld her tell of me either quycke or dede, for in hir grace quarell I wold Spende my harte blod. And than my s'üntt wepte Intyerly, and prayed God spede me well, & so departed, aboughte vij of the Cloke the same daye.

The said daye I toke my Jorney toward Hunttyngton, and by the way, in the presence of M^r Will'ms, Fraunces Armestronge, and dyuers other honest men, I prayd often tymes to God, to deffend the quenes Ma^{tie} from Bovege,^b meaning the cruell tyraunte, the bere of Warwike,

^b I have not been successful in my attempts to discover the source of this appellation, but still think it may be met with in some of our old Playwrights. The allusion, however,

the ville Treaterouse Duke of Northumberland, for xvj dayes, and afterwarde hir grace shuld be saffe for eu^l; for hir Maiestie wthin those dayes shulde have men enoughe annenst^c Bovgge, the bere. And often tymes, in the heryng of dyuers honest men, I dyd synge "Mary Gode mother alone, alone, a;"^d so that allwayes I styred vp menes harte towarde the name of Quene Mary, as myche as in me was, by songe, aduysement, psuacyon, Informacyon, worde and ded. And the same daye I mete a yonge man, whose name I knowe not, but the mane dwelleth in Granth'm, & is lyving, and was s'untte to one Wrytte of the George ther, whose m^r was wth the lorde Clynton,^e at Berye. And I asked the yonge mane what newes at Bery, and he told me that the Quenes Maiestie hade sent word to the Duke of Northumberland, that hir grace wold gyve hyme his breakfast, dener, and Supper. And if that wold not s'ue, hir grace hade a talbate^f to byte hyme by the bake. And in the heryng of thies worde, I prayd God save hir grace, and Imbrasyng the yonge man, I gave hyme moste hartie thankes beffor all men for his godly newes. And desyered hyme to pupplishe hit abrode at his coīnyng whom to Granth'm. And he pmysed me he wold do so. And aftwarde departed.

is doubtless to the badge of the House, the *bear and ragged staff*; whence also Shakespeare causes Clifford to exclaim, on the entry of Warwick and Salisbury,

"Are these thy *bears*? we'll bait thy bears to death."—K. Hen. VI. Act v. sc. 1.

^c Against.

^d Probably the commencement of a Christmas carol, but the rest of it does not seem to have been preserved.

^e Lord Clinton has already been mentioned as one of Northumberland's adherents. His name was struck out by Queen Mary from the list of those committed for trial, and he afterwards became one of her Privy Councillors, and defenders against the attempt of Wyatt.

^f This can only refer to Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, who, like the Earl of Arundel, seems only to have joined in Northumberland's plot for the purpose of betraying him. His services to Mary on this occasion were rewarded, on her accession, by his being made a Privy Councillor, and President of the Council of the North, and in Lodge's *Illustr.* vol. i. p. 184, is a letter from his Countess, strongly testifying the regard he was held in by his Sovereign.

The same daye, aft̃ my Comyng to Hunttyngton, I gave to one Jamys, my s̃ũnte, a waescote, and went with hyme to the Taylors, to take measure of the same. And into the shoope ther came an honest matrone makyng great lamentacion, and cryed oute Alas ! that euer she lyved to see that daye, For that vylle treator the Duke wold distroye the quenes maiestie, if he myght be suffured, for hir grace lacked helpe. And I desyered hir to be contentted, and praye to God for hir grace, leaving hir lamentacyon, and all shulbe well, pmysyng hir that she shulde neñ se me agayn aft̃ my departure from thens tyll hir grace wer Establyshed in hir kyngdom. And that I and a hundred thowsand suche as I ame, wold dye for hyr grace, or that villan shuld haue power to Come neñ hir highnes. O s', said that honest woman, the tyraunt hathe burned good maister Hurlestons house, and spoyled his goodde. And I am a pore woman that was his tenũtte, as good a gentylman as euer was borne to all pore men, and now he is vndone, that alas ! said she, that euer that Tyraunte shuld be sufferyd to lyve ! And I desyered hyr to be contentted, prayng to God, and w^{thin} Few dayes, or hit wer longe to, she shuld see that maister Hurleston by the quenes preferment Shulde have choice of many better houses of the Dukes, than eñ maisters Hurlestons house was. And I willed hir to marke me, and my mottlye Jorkyn y^e I wer, for if all my saynge proved not trew, she shuld never see me agayn in Hunttyngton. Than she prayd God blesse my harte, and spedde me well, for I had comforted hir very myche, and so we depted.

Imedyatly, the same daye, one Oldenold, than being s̃ũntt to the Duke, mete me Comyng from the Taylors, and toke me by the arme, askyng me howe I lyked that worlde, and I tolde hym starke noughte, and that lord Lylleborne^a shuld not enyoye the Crowne of Englund. And Oldenalde demũnde[d], who was that lorde Lylborne ? And I sayd, he that maryed lady Jane. Than Oldenall sayd, that his name was not Lylborne, but his name was Gylford.^b And I aunsweryd,

^a "Lilbore is a lowete." *Margin.*

^b Lord Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland, and husband of the ill-fated Lady Jane Gray. Beheaded, February 12th 1553-4.

hit was not material what name he was of, for he shuld never Inyoye the Crowne of Englund.

The same nyght at supper, Fraunce Armestronge, Calling me bed-fellowe,ⁱ said he wold dryke to lord Lylborne, and I refused the Cupp, saying I wold neu^l plege Lilborne wyllys I lyved. So Gylford was comynly Called Lylborne by my pcurement amongst vs, for his treason agaynst the Crowne of Englund.

Vppon wensday, the xviiijth of July, I went to Reston,^j & dyned ther, loking to haue mete my m^r at xij of the Cloke the same day ther, for he was determyned to haue Flede From the Duke of Suffolke. And we brought horses to haue receaved hyme. And he sent one Bernard Martyn theth' to vs, to tell vs all was well, and so we departed to Hunt-tyngton the same nyghte agayne.

Vppon thursday, the xixth of July, I dyd ryd to s' John Haryngton, and so whome to myn owne house. And Imedyatly after my Coñyng whom, One Thomas Tyde of Coltesworthe^k came sodenly into my house, as John Budde, my wiffe & I satt drynkyng, and wth his moothe sounded like a tromppete iij tymes. And afterward^e begane the pclamacion in thies worddes: Mary, by the grace of God, of Ingland, Fraunce, & Ireland Quene, &c. And so I Rosse vpe From the borde, & bared my hed, knelyng down beffor theym all, I said the Lorde prayer. And desyered God save hir grace, and all they said Amē. And so gave hyme moste hartie thanks for his godly newes, and caused my wiffe and all my maydens (for my men wer gone to make vpe hey) To Cary wode to make a bone fyere. And I went to John Dove than being Counstable, and comūded hyme to make a bone Fyer, that all the Quenes teūttē myght praise God for his marvelous victory and myracle shewed to the Quenes maiestie. And I caused chyldryn of the age of viij ix & x yeres, to Cary wode to the fyer for a remēbraunce

ⁱ A term of this period expressing a great degree of friendship or intimacy. Vide Nares' Gloss. *in voc.*

^j Evidently a mistake, as both the Restons in Lincolnshire are too far removed to be here intended. Perhaps we should read *Weston*. ~~Reston~~

^k Colsterworth.

therof. And at the same bone fyre, I caused all my mete & drynke to be broughte Fourthe, and wold suffer noñ of my neighbors to be at any charges ther, ether in wod or any other thing. And after o^r eatyng and drynkyng, I desyered theym all to knelle downe & gyve thanks to God, for his honorable victory shoed & gyven to the quenes Maiestie. And so I said Certen salmes, and praye[d] God saue the quene, and all answered Amen. And so departed.

Frydaye the xxth daye of July,¹ in the said yere, I rested all daye at myn owne housse.

Vppon Satterdaye the xxjth of July, I Rode to Grantham, and ther hit pleased the Alderman^m & the masters of the towne to desyer myn aduyse in setting oute the Quenes pclamacion. To whome vsent for I resorted in that parte to do my devty. And I wyllyd theym to wryte: Mary by the grace of God, of Englonde, Fraunce & Irelande Quene, &c. accordyng to the Kynges style, hir grace Father, and in thend to praye

¹ On this day was the Duke of Northumberland arrested at Cambridge, the account of whose behaviour, written in a contemporary hand, is inserted at the end of Troughton's narrative, and although it has been partly copied by Stow and others, yet I shall here transcribe it verbatim: "Thursday ye 20. of Ju[ly]: the anonymous Chronicler in Vitell. F. v. says the 21st.] Johne Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, being at Sant Edmundes Bury, & having most sure knowledge yt ye Lady Mary was by ye Nobilitie & others of ye counsell remayning at London proclaimed quene of England ye day before, was therwth much trowbled in his mynd, not knowing what was best for hym to do, yet at ye last, fled backe agayne, wth as much spede as he convenientlie could, & came to Cambridge about fyve of ye clocke in ye evening, wher he, wth suche other of ye nobilitie as fled backe wth hym, incontinentlie came to ye market crosse & caused ye Ladye Mary to be proclaimed Quene of England; ye proclamation being ended, & all men for ye moste parte throwing vpp ther cappes for ioy, he having his cap in his hand, lift vp his arme in outward token of ioy, but being dismayed wth ye wunderfull showtes, cries, & throwing vp of cappes on euery side, turned his backe, & went towards his lodging, not able any longer to surpresse ye inward grefe of his mynd, w^{ch} he planely shewed by the teares w^{ch} came tricing downe his chekes from his moystened eyes.

"Mr. Sleg, Sergiant at armes, arested the Duke & the rest of ye nobilitie & gentleman at Cambridge."

^m Thomas Wilkinson was Alderman in 1553.

God save Quene Mary. And so we wente to the market Crosse, in the heryng of the countrie people, and solely wth the noise of Shawmes,ⁿ iij se^dall tymes blowen wth distyncyoñ. Afterwardē on Comūded all men to kepe sylence, and herē the Quenes pclamacyon, as is above-mencyoned. And Imedyatly after the pclamacion, praying God save the quene, I caste vpe my hate, and than all the people saying God save the Quene, Caste vpe their cappes and hatte. And whan the people war quyeted, I begane to singe *Te Deum laudam'*, and so we dyd syng hit solely to thend. And aft' that, I caused the vycar to saye certeyn godly prayers, and the people prayd wth hyme, whom the Alderman caused to drynke, & so departed.

Wthin iij or v dayes after, I was sore hurte on the hede, & hade like to haue byne slane, so that I was cōpelled to shave my hed, and kepe my house, and the towne, vntyll Saynt Mathewse daye the same yere.

And vppon saynt Mathewes daye,^o the same yere, my neighbors and I came into the churche, aboughte the towne rekenyng, and ther myn Aduersary Thomas Wymberley begane to quarelled^p wth me, for a lre my m^r sent to hyme, for Falzifying Matier agaynste me, and for a ferme, & for the decaye of the churche. And bragged, that he wold sete me either to God or to the devyll. And I defyed hym, and bade hyme sete hyme selff to the devill, if he wold, for he shuld haue no power to hurte me. And than he said he wold brynge ij of the quenes s'ūntte to se the Churche. And I wished of God, if it wer his pleasure, That hir grace myght haue a pgresse into the northe, & drynke at Wymberleys house,^q & see bothe hir graces towne & Churche ther. And this I spake re^dently towardē hyr grace, bare hedded beffor all my neighborē, and not contemptuosly agaynst hir highnes, whom like an obedyent s'byecte, I thanke God, I haue s'ved truly hitherto, and will do by Godde pmyssyon willes I lyve.

ⁿ A wind instrument, supposed to be the Base Cornet. Vide Notes to the Privy Purse Expences of K. Hen. VIII.

^o Sept. 21st.

^p Sic.

^q "Wymberles house standethe by the church yarde & Southwthm is the highe waye to Yorke." *Margin.*

Vppon this malicyouse talke Thomas Wymberley, my Aduersary, Intysed, as hit is reporttede, a lewed man or ij to accuse me of wordes that I shuld speake The xvth daye of July, in the First yere of the Quenes most graciouse Rayne. And I am able to pve, that I nether dyd see theym that daye nor they me, That is to saye, & please yo^r honorable lordshipes, I nether sawe Thomas Wymbley, my Ad^usary, Johⁿ Rogers, nor Wyll^m Myllnes, nor yet speake to any of theym that day in any place. And aft' o^r fallying out, they Falsly accused me the xxvth of September in the yere above wrytton, & neu^l beffor o^r contention on St. Matheves day.

My very good lord^e, and please yo^r honors, myn accusers saye that I shuld speake word^e agaynst the quenes highnes the xvth daye of July, in the yere afforsaid, and they accuse me to a Justyce, the xxvjth daye of September, the same yere, and all is Falsyfyed by Wymberles pcurement, because he can not haue a Ferme I haue. As for those word^e, I neuer spak theym in all my liffe.

And wher hit is reported, that I & vj of my men shuld go to the Duke, he neu^l hade man, money, horse, nor harnes, nor good worde, or any furtherance of me, Syns the deat^r of y^e Duke of So^miset, but I and my too men wer Rydyng to met my M^r, and never came in company wth any that loved the Duke, in my Jorney to Reston.

Ther wente but ij men oute of the towne I dwelle in, and one of theym was Wymberleys man, myn Accuser, and went out of his house. And Wymberley hym self Comūded John Dove, the counstable, to sett oute mene to the musters at Fockingh'm for the Duke, Sayng, that if they went not, and the Duke hade the vpper hande, he wold hange theym all that wold not go. And so Wymberley made the Counstable afrayde, as the Counstable Told me, wiche caused hym to bryng all the able men owte of the Quenes towne of South'm,* con^{tr}y to my formor councell, & steye,^t on the quenes parte, but my men & I came not ther

^r Death. The Duke of Somerset was executed 22nd January 1552.

^s Southwitham.

^t Stay, hindrance.

at all. And to conforte the Counstable therin, Wymberley pmysed to ryde thether beffor hym.

The townnesmen came to Feche money of me to sette Fordwarde thies ij men oute of Southewthm against the Quenes highnes, and I wold nether gyve theym money, horse, nor harnes, nor comfort therin.

They wold haue abouted a swerde of my s'üntt, Robert Branesby, for Thomas Wymberleys man, whom he Sufferede to go oute of his house agaynst the Quene, and I wold not Suffer my man to selle his owne Sworde, but wissed hit in the Dukes bely, rather than he shuld haue any oute of my house.

All this is trew. By me RICHARD
TROUGHTON.

My very good lordē, hit is thought, that the chūncell & the churchē ther, was not vnbylled v^e yeres paste, wherof I haue demynyshed no parte, but being over growen wth Iviē many yeres or ^v I was borne, who have dwelte ther but xij yeres, and rotten, one pece of the Chaūncell so Fare as the Ivey grewe, is Fallen downe, wherwth I had nothyng to do.^u

I bought a alter Stone in the iiijth yere of Kyng Edward, wiche neu^l cam in any bankketyng house of myn, and lyethe on ij peces of wode in my Orchard to this daye.

Vppon the bryge next my house ther lieth a grave stone, that was Covered wth erthe in the churchē yard, and dyd no good ther, wiche my neighbo^{re} brought thether, and leyd hit on the bryge, wiche is no Alter stone.

Itm wher myn Adūsers,^x and False wytnes berars agaynste me say,

^v Before.

^u In the Return made by the Ecclesiastical Commission to Cardinal Pole, in 1556, on the state of the Churches in Lincolnshire, that of Southwitham is not mentioned, although Bichelfelde and many others are noticed. We may hence, perhaps, infer that the Chancel had been repaired between the period of Troughton's accusation before the Privy Council and the date of the Visitation.

^x Adversaries.

that they hard Prate saye that I shuld Call my very god lorde chũncello^r knave, O! my lordes, hit is moste vntrewe y^t eu^l I spake any suche ville word agaynst his lordshipe, whose nere kynswoman is my wif, and was daughter and heir to M^r Gardeners daughter of Lincolnshy^r, my lord chaũncello^r his lordshepes kynsman ;^y but a Cupe of ale at Wymberleys, whan Prate is dronken, will mak Prate saye what Wymberley wyll Falsely Imagyn, but that worde I never spake in all my liffe, but yete I caused Prate, like a Comon drōkkerd (yo^r lordeshipes honors reũently spoaken of) to be brought beffor iij Justyce^z a twelve monethe syns, for the same word, wiche than he was not, nor yet is able to pve, wherfor Prate had like to haue byn sete in y^e stockes.

As for the person of Huñyngton, I called hyme knave vppon satterday beffor the Quene was coroned, and neũ came in his company syns hir grace Coronacyon.^a

Hit may please yo^r honors to be adũtised, that this Thomas Wymberley hathe byn in contentyon agaynste me thies xij yeres paste, and that this is not the frste matter he hathe Falsyfyed against me, and yet all his mat'ies^a ar as false, as Gode is my trewe Juge. Wherfor I beseche yo^r honorable lordsheppes to Call Wyll'm Millnes apert, and of yo^r hono^re to examyn hym by his selfe. And I truste yo^r lorde shipes shall knowe of hyme how often I hade byn in his company. In whos cōm-

y If we may admit the truth of this assertion, it will throw some light on the disputed point as to the legitimate birth of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, appointed Lord Chancellor by Queen Mary, 23rd August 1553. Burnet and Godwin state him to have been the natural son of Dr. Lionel Woodville, Dean of Exeter and Bishop of Salisbury, and born at Bury St. Edmunds in 1483. Strype and Chalmers adopt this opinion also, and it is most generally received; but Lodge, on the authority of one of Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, is inclined to believe him the son of Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knt. the representative of an ancient family in Lancashire. It is certain, however, that the coat of arms assumed by him was nearly, or quite, the same with that of the Gardiners of Glemsford, in Suffolk, which differs from that granted to the Gardiners of Bishop's Norton, co. Lincoln, who are immediately descended from the Sir Thomas Gardiner above mentioned, and referred to (as I believe) in Troughton's narrative.

^z Mary was crowned on Sunday, October 1st, 1553.

^a Matters?

pany I haue neu^o yet in all my liffe byn, vnles honestyer mēn wer present than he is; but in the Quenes troble I never came ner hym by the space of ij peyr of Garden buttes in lenght, at the lest, nor yet speake to the said Wyll'm Milnes at any tyme during hir gracc vexacion. And this is most trewe.

My lordde, yo^r honors reūtly spoaken of, This Wyll'm Milnes is a very Comon dronkerd, and is Wymberleys tenūt, dwellyng vppon his grond. And Johñ Rogers is Wymberles tenūt, and dwelt vppō his grond, who maliseth me bycause he cannot haue by my good will, the Church medowe ther from the tenūt^te of Southwth.

I beseche my lordes to be so myche my good lordes, of yo^r honors, as to haue pety of yo^r bede man, liing in closse preason, who was neu^o in prison beffor this tyme. And to grūntte me libertie of the house, vntyll yo^r honorable pleasures be Further knowne. And that I may Come to my Answer, by yo^r lordshipes bedeman

RICHARD
TROUGHTON

Wymberley was not wth the Quenes Maiesties in hir gracc troble, duryng tholle monethe of July in the First yere of hir gracc reign. And yet I thynke he will saye to yo^r hono^re that he was, but I am able to prove that he was at Bycheffeaste.^b

Vppon mūdaye beffor The duke of Suffolk his man made the pcl[a-
ma]cyon against the Quenes Maiestie at Melton,^c I was at Lincoln, at

^b A mistake for *Bitchfield*, in Bettisloe Wapentake, where Wymberley resided, as appears from the Visitation in 1592.

^c This refers to the part taken by the Duke of Suffolk in Wyatt's rebellion, after the pardon granted by Mary for his previous treason, in conjunction with Northumberland.

the County^d ther. And came whome vppon wensdaye. And Thomas Lokket Tolde me of the Treaterouse p[cla]macion, and I axsked in whose name hit was made, and he sayd in the Dukes name, and [I] said, sete dogges on the Duke and his mane bothe, like treatours as they wer. And said, if I hade byne ther, I wold haue taken the Dukes man, or haue kylled hym, or elle haue dyed vppon hym, or he that made the pclamacion shuld haue skaped. And desyered my neighbo^{re} to quyet theym s[elves v]ntyll the quene co^mnded theym to go, and wold go, and dyde wth the]ym against the said Duke.

I was neu² in any co^mocion or otherwise against the Crowne of Englonde in all my liffe, but allways, god be preased, ready to dye for the deffence of the same.

RICHARD
TROUGHTON.

He secretly left his house at Shene on the 25th January 1553-4, and with his two brothers proceeded to Leicestershire, where in many places, " he caused proclamation to be made in semblable wise as Sir Thomas Wiat had done, against the Quenes match, which she meant to make with the king of Spaine: but few there were that would willinglie hearken thereto." Holinsh. p. 1095. Lodge's Illustr. vol. i. p. 189. The Duke was arrested, and again brought to the Tower on February 6th, and on the 23rd he lost his head on Tower-hill. Strype.

^d County Assizes?

V. *Transcript of an original Manuscript, containing a Memorial from George Constantyne to Thomas Lord Cromwell. Communicated by THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer, in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 21st and 28th January, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

James' Street, Westminster, January 20, 1830.

BY the kindness of my friend Mr. John Payne Collier, I am enabled to transmit to you an original MS. belonging to him, of the time of Henry the Eighth, which, as it relates to contemporaneous events of much historical importance, you will perhaps deem sufficiently interesting to be laid before the Society. Though it bears the title of "Instructions to my Lord Privy Seal," it was evidently intended by the writer, George Constantyne, to serve as his defence against misrepresentations which had been made to Thomas Lord Cromwell, concerning certain verbal communications in which he had recently been engaged with John Barlow, Dean of Westbury, and Thomas Barlow, a Prebendary of that Collegiate Church.

Before I proceed to notice the public events to which the Manuscript refers, it may be proper to say a few words respecting the history and character of George Constantyne, who appears to have been an active instrument in the hands of the early promoters of the Reformation. He tells us himself that he had been bred a Surgeon, but it would appear from a subsequent passage in his paper that he had afterwards taken Holy Orders. The first public notice I find of him is in Hall's Chronicle, where, about the year 1530, he is stated to have been apprehended by the order of Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, on suspicion of certain heresies. The charge appears to have been founded on his connection with Tindall, Joye, and other reformers, in translating

and printing the New Testament abroad. Upon being questioned by More as to the funds by means of which these operations were carried on, Constantyne replied, that the Bishop of London^a had been their best supporter, having expended large sums of money in the purchase of their Testaments, for the purpose of burning them. The adroitness of this answer seems to have amused More, who observed, that he had himself told the Bishop so, when he went about to buy them: yet it does not appear to have made Constantyne's peace, for we are told by another authority,^b that More caused him to be set in the stocks—an indignity from which I should be glad to rescue the hero of my narrative. However, if we may believe the story, though for a time he had been, like Hudibras, "in circle magical confin'd," he contrived to effect his escape from it, greatly to the discomfiture of the Chancellor, who, as his enemies relate, behaved like "a choleric and passionated man," even refusing food for three days, during which his anger lasted. But More's biographer denies the latter statement, and tells us, that he consoled himself for his loss with a pleasant jest (more suitable certainly to his general character), by merely ordering his porter to "repair and amend the stocks, least the fellow that ran away might haply run in again,"—a precaution which Constantyne, for his own sake, probably took especial care to render unnecessary.

The above story, as related by Hall, and without the episode of the stocks, is repeated by Fox,^c who, on the authority of More himself, in his Preface against Tindall,^d adds, that Constantyne betrayed his asso-

^a Tunstall was probably the Bishop of London here alluded to, as he had purchased the first edition of Tindall's translation, by means of a negociation with Augustine Packington, of which an amusing account is given by Hall. He had, however, been translated to Durham just before More's promotion to the Seals, and had been succeeded by Stokesley, who was equally zealous in the suppression of English Bibles.

^b Life of Sir Thomas More, by an unknown author, edited by Dr. Wordsworth, from a MS. in the Lambeth Library. See Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii. p. 93.

^c Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 287, edit. 1641.

^d More says, "George Constauntine, ere he escaped, was redy to have, in worde at the least wise, abjured al the holy doctrine. What his heart was, God and he knew, and peradventure the Devill to, if he entended otherwise." He adds, that "he semed verye penitent of his misseusing of hymself in falling to Tyndalle's heresies agayne, for which

ciates, as well as the shipmen who had brought the books to England, Whatever may have been the fact, he evidently continued to attach himself to the reforming party, being, not long after, the follower of Norris, who suffered on the scaffold with Anne Boleyn, and subsequently the Registrar of the Diocese of St. David's, first under Barlow the reformer (as it would appear from the following Manuscript), and afterwards under Farrar (or Ferrar), who in Mary's reign was burnt as a heretic. Farrar had been deprived of his See in the time of Edward the Sixth, upon charges of mismanagement, unconnected with his religious faith, partly upon the evidence of Constantyne, whom, in a Letter published by Fox, ^e the Bishop accused of falsehood, ingratitude, and avarice.

It appears, however, by a Letter addressed to Fox by Richard Prat, quoted by Strype, and still remaining in the Harleian Library,^f that Farrar and Constantyne, as well as Young (Constantyne's son-in-law, afterwards in Elizabeth's reign Archbishop of York, who had also been one of Farrar's accusers in the former proceedings against him) became reconciled before Farrar's death; "so that," as Prat says, "they were in brotherly love, and they all professed one religion, for he died and they fled." Prat, in the Letter here quoted, strongly urges Fox to suppress or alter the passage relating to Constantyne and Young in a subsequent edition, in such sort as no "man be defamed, whereby religion may sustain no hurt: otherwise the Papists may have a just occasion to triumph." From this it is evident that Constantyne adhered to his faith, having endured exile for it about the year 1555, the period of Farrar's execution. In 1560, the date of Prat's letter, Constantyne was lately dead, but I am at a loss to ascertain whether he died abroad, or returned to England at Elizabeth's accession, to partake of the triumph of the reformers. The elevation of his son-in-law Young, to the See of York, under Elizabeth's patronage, seems to throw discredit on the

he knoledged hymselfe worthy to be hanged that he hadde so falsely abused the kynges gracious remission and pardon geven hym before." Sir T. More's Works, p. 346. May it not be conjectured that Constantyne's disclosures, as well as his penitence, were fictitious, and were meant to deceive More, and to pave the way for his escape?

^e Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 217.

^f MS. Harl. 416, fol. 170.

charge made against both of them by Farrar, and to justify the character elsewhere given of Farrar's administration of his episcopal duties at St. David's.^g

The impression of Constantyne's character which the foregoing statement and his own narrative seem calculated to make, is that he was a man of a shrewd, bustling, and intriguing spirit, possessing qualifications for business, which the peculiar circumstances of the times were likely to bring into action, in situations affording very favourable opportunities for observation on passing events of public interest. The caustic humour with which his remarks abound, serves to give them additional point and effect.

Of the other actors in the drama before us, John Barlow, Dean of Westbury, and Thomas Barlow, his brother (the former remarkable for his unceasing inquisitiveness, and the latter only for his taciturnity), I have not found satisfactory information. Some passages, however, in the Manuscript before us, lead me to infer that they were connexions of the distinguished reformer, William Barlow, at that time Bishop of Saint David's. John Barlow appears to have been Archdeacon of Caermarthen in the Bishop's diocese, and, at a subsequent period, was, I believe, the Dean of Worcester who was deprived by Mary in 1553, having been installed in June 1544,^h five years after his journey and conversation with Constantyne.ⁱ

With respect to the Manuscript itself, its value is partly derived from the picture it furnishes of the state in which the contending parties in the Church had been placed by the unexpected enactment of the Statute for abolishing diversity of opinions, usually called by the Protestants "the Act of the Six Bloody Articles." By this celebrated measure, which asserted the doctrine of the real presence, enforced the

^g See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* and Godwin de Præsul. Ang. Young, indeed, after his promotion was accused of rapacity, of which an amusing anecdote is related by Sir John Harington, in his satirical Supplement to Godwin's Catalogue.

^h Le Neve's *Fasti Eccles.* p. 300.

ⁱ Browne Willis supposes the Archdeacon of Caermarthen to have been afterwards Dean of Worcester, and to have been son or kinsman to the Bishop. *Survey of St. David's*, p. 174. That he was the Bishop's son is rendered improbable by dates.

celibacy of priests, and recognized private masses and auricular confession, a great triumph had been effected for the Catholic party, through the exertions of Tunstall and Gardiner, in conjunction with Lee, Archbishop of York, and in opposition to the influence and arguments of Cranmer, the latter having on this occasion failed to receive support from Cromwell, who had given the Bill a temporizing assent. It would appear from Constantyne's account that the reformers were not much dismayed, and that Shaxton and Latimer, who had resigned their Sees in consequence of the Act, had received grants of pensions from the King for their support;—a fact which I do not find elsewhere noticed, and which it is difficult to reconcile with their subsequent and long-continued imprisonment.

Another portion of the Manuscript relates to the negotiations at that time in progress for the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, and to a similar treaty, supposed to have been recently broken off, with the Duchess of Milan. The pledges of personal safety which Constantyne reports to have been demanded by one of these parties, serves to show the alarm which the violence of Henry's character had excited abroad.

But the most interesting passage of the Manuscript before us, is that which relates to the execution of Anne Boleyn, of which Constantyne was an eye-witness. His opinion, it will be seen, was unfavourable to her innocence. It appears, however, not to have been grounded upon any communication made to him by Norris, whom he then served, nor upon any personal observation which he had enjoyed the opportunity of making while holding that situation. It had been derived merely from the information or belief of those persons with whom he had conversed at the time of the execution. An opinion thus formed, will not, perhaps, be allowed to have much weight; yet it should be recollected that Constantyne, both as a reformer and a follower of Norris, was a partizan of the Queen, and was naturally reluctant (as he in fact appears to have been) to receive an impression of her guilt. In the absence of all evidence, owing to the destruction of the proceedings on the trial, the judgment of the public will probably continue to take the more favourable side, acquitting Anne of positive guilt, though not of

indiscretion. The levity of her manners, acquired during her education in France, might have contributed to influence the decision of her Judges, as it had already urged the jealous and irritable temper of the King to an act of violence, for which, without some suspicion of her actual guilt, his growing passion for Jane Seymour could hardly have supplied a sufficient motive. Henry, it may be observed, though feared by his subjects, was never unpopular with them, his excesses being attributed more to his ungovernable temper than to any obliquity of heart.

The remaining topic of interest in Constantyne's narrative is the doubt which he entertains as to the authorship of the book against Luther, which bears Henry's name—a doubt which appears to have arisen partly from common report, but more directly from his personal knowledge of the extent of the King's scholarship. It will be seen that he attributes the work to Lee and Sir Thomas More. Burnet, it will be recollected, notices Luther's belief that Lee was the writer of it, but endeavours to show that More could have had no other share in it than that of "digesting it into method and order."^k Others have supposed it to be the composition of Fisher and Wolsey; while Fuller, for the sake perhaps of a pun, says, that "some other *Gardner* gathered the flowers, though King Henry had the honour to wear the posy."^l It has lately been observed, with much appearance of justice, that "from Henry's general character, and proneness to theological discussion, it may be inferred that he had at least a considerable share in the work, though probably with the assistance of some who had more command of the Latin language."^m

Believe me to remain, my dear Sir,

Yours, very sincerely,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Secretary.

^k Hist. Ref. vol. iii. p. 171.

^l Church Hist. book v. p. 168.

^m Hallam's Constitutional Hist. vol. i. p. 80, note. Since the above Letter was written, I have been favoured by Mr. Bruce with an elaborate summary of the evidence on this interesting question, which will be found appended as a note to the passage of Constantyne's Memorial in which the doubt has been raised. See page 67.

Instructions for my Lorde Privey Seale as towchinge the whole communication betwixt John Barlow Deane of Westbury, Thomas Barlow Prebendary there, clerkys, and George Constantyne of Lawhaden, in their journey from Westbury vnto Slebech in Sowthwales.

Fyrst on twisdaye being the xixth daye of August in the xxxjth yere of the reyne of our Soverayne Lorde Kynge Henry the viijth, I George Constantyne came to Westbury from Bristow on fote, and there supped with the Deane, who asked me what tydinges, And I said none but good; that God be thanked the Kynges majestie was myrrye upon Sonday; And forther I sayed that I hearde saye that the late Bisshops of Salisbury and of Worcestre^a had an hundred merkes pension vnder the Kynges broade seale. What, sayed the Deane, owt of their Bisshopryckes, or owt of the Kynges cofers? I can not tell that sayed I, but yf they can be contented they never lyved so myrryly in their lyves, yf they have that and the Kynges favour withall. I am glad sayed the Deane, for now I have hope that I shall have my money that the Bisshop of Worcestre oweth we, namynge xxvj^{li} or xxx^{li}, but I am sure that he shall never receave penny of his pension, for he shalbe hanged I warrante hym or christmasse. Na, sayed I, God forbidde, for I thinke he will nother write nor preach contrary to th'act of Parleament, he ys too wise. But he shalbe examined sayed the Dean, and I warrante he will never subscribe. As for the Bisshop of Salisbury, I heare saye he begynneth to relente. I can not tell, sayed I, but they saye at Bristowe that the Bisshop of Bath^b his servantes geve hym good

^a Shaxton and Latimer. The rumour here noticed of pensions being granted to them appears to be inconsistent with the long imprisonment which they subsequently suffered for speaking against the Six Articles. Shaxton afterwards recanted.

^b Clarke, who was sent on the mission to Cleves in the following year, and died on his return.

promyse. And thacte of Parleamente ys not that men shuld other be examined or subscribe to the same, for it requireth no soch thinge, for it ys of authorytie it self withowt any mans subscription. Well, sayed the Deane, ye shall se that a waye wilbe founde for hym. Is Doctor Barnes come home yet? Yee mary, sayed I, he came to the cownte apon Sondaye. Jesu mercy, sayed the Deane, And it was sayed in Bristow that he preached in London against th'acte apon oure Lady daye. And then, sayed I, he was not within Englonde. What newes hath he brought? sayed the Deane. In good fayeth I can not tell, sayed I, but he ys very sad. Did he spayeke with the kyng? sayed the Deane. No mary, sayed I, but as he showed me had lycence because of his werynes to departe vnto the Kynges nearer comyng to London, vnto the tyme he were sende for. Sende for? sayed the Deane, Na, I warrante you the kyng will not speake with him. I know not that, sayed I, but Doctor Barnes tolde me that my Lorde Privey Seale wolde have had hym taryed to have spoken with the kyng, but that he prayed lycence because of his werynesse. Forther I tolde the Deane that I cowld heare of no Commission that was owt for this last acte. Neverthelesse, sayed I, I will aduyse all my frendes to kepe them owt of daunger. And so I desyred the Deane at after supper that he wold lycence me to goo to Bristow, for I had dyvers thinges to bye for my selfe and I wold be ready to wayete upon hym in the mornyng, at which time he appoynted to take his journey toward St. Davids. And thus I wente to Bristow, where I was busye all the xx^{te} daye, and the xxj daye tyll it was x of the clock. For the trewth ys I was at that tyme veraye loth to ryde in the Deanes company, and therefore taryed a daye longer at Bristow, which notwithstandinge upon thursdaye beinge the xxj day of August, I founde the Deane at the ferry at Auste wayetinge for passage. And so as it was my fortune I joyned with hym in company, and at Chepstow we laie all that night, where as he made me hearty chere as me thought and that all malice was forgotten; So that I toke the man for whoale changed, and that all was remitted, & was veraye glad it was my

chaunce to over take hym. But that daye nor night we had no communication but myrryly. Now on the morrow, the xxij daye of August, we rodde towarde Abergevenye, which waye we had this communication, The Deane, Syr Thomas, and I; which communication, because I will bringe in faythfully and sensible, I haue brought it in a colloqui, because I will not trowble your Lordship with "he sayeth, & I sayed, & Syr Thomas sayde."

DEANE. THOMAS. GEORGE.

DEANE. By Gods mercy, it ys good tydinges that ye told vs the last night that there ys no Commission owt as yet for the last acte. THOMAS. By Saynt Mary, I am glad of it, if it be true. GEORGE. I promise yo I cowlde heare of none, and yet I enquired for it, Wherefore I trust there wilbe a moderation in it. DEANE. By Gods mercy it had neade so, for it ys too vnreasonable. THOMAS. I did ever thinke that mariage of Priestes shulde haue gone forwarde at this Parleament. DEANE. My Lorde of Cantorbury was ferre to blame in the matter. GEORGE. Why my Lorde of Cantorbury moare then my Lorde of St. Davids^c & other? DEANE. Ye speake wisely indeed; For if my Lorde of Cantorbury had sticked, there was never a man there that wold have subscribed, I dare saye. GEORGE. Well, we know not the worke of God. If it be his pleasure it ys as easy for hym to overcome with few as with many; but I thinke veryly that my Lorde Privey Seale persuaded my Lorde of Cantorbury, and that for other considerations than we do know; or els I am sure avoyding the Kynges indignation he wold not haue subscribed, which in deade he shuld in conscience rather haue aventured, if he were not in conscience therto persuaded. I praye you what hath it avayled the Bishop of Rochester^d to subscribe: he had

^c William Barlow, a distinguished writer on the Protestant side. He was afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, of which See he was deprived by Queen Mary, but was appointed by Elizabeth to that of Chichester, which he retained till his death.

^d Heath, afterwards Archbishop of York, deprived by Elizabeth.

as good a charter of his life as the best of them? As I can heare, my Lorde Privey Seale ys vtterly persuaded as the acte ys. DEANE. It ys marveil if it so be. GEORGE. Wonderfull are the wayes of the Lorde, Kynges heartys are in the hande of God. He turneth them as he lusteth. How mercyfully, how plentifully and purely hath God sende his worde vnto vs here in England! Agayne, how vnthankefully, how rebelliously, how carnally and vnwillingly do we receave it! Who ys ther almost that will haue a bible but he must be compelled therto? How loth be our Priestes to teach the commaundementes, th'articles of the faith, and the Pater noster in English! Agayne how vnwillinge be the people to lerne it! Yee they gest at it, callinge it the new Pater noster and new lernynge; So that as, helpe me God, if we amende not, I feare we shalbe in moare bondage and blindnes then ever we ware.^e I pray you was not one of the best preachers in christendome Bisshop of Worcester? And now there ys one made^f that never preached that I hearde, excepte it were the Popes law. But alas, beside our noughtines, cowardenes and covetousnes ys th'occasion of moch of this. The cowardnes of our Bisshops to tell trowth and stande bye it, while they might be hearde, and the covetousnes of our visitors. For in all our visitations we have had no thinge reformed but our purses. DEANE. By Gods mercy thow saiest trowth; those be two pratty sinnes, how saye ye? GEORGE. Mary cowardnesse and covetousnes; And so we came to fowle waye that the Deane and I were rydinge together, & then we fell in communication alone after this manner worde for worde, as I can call to remembrance.

DEANE. GEORGE.

DEANE. Hearest of no maryage towarde? GEORGE. I can not tell what I shuld saye; but me thinke it great pittie that the Kyng ys so longe without a Quene; his Grace might yet haue many fayre childern

^e The admission here made by a zealous Reformer, of the unpopularity of the doctrines of the Reformation, both with the priests and the common people, establishes a curious and striking fact.

^f Bell, who succeeded Latimer. He abdicated his See in 1543, for a cause of which Bishop Godwin professes to be ignorant.

to Gods pleasure and the comforte of the realme; my father might be graundefather to an elder man than the Kynges maiestie, and yet ys lustie, I thanke God. DEANE. How old ys he? GEORGE. Mary ^{xx} IIIJ yere olde and twelve, & yet the last sommer he roode xxxij myles apon one daye afore two a clocke, & sayed he was not wery when he had done. DEANE. But hearest any thinge of any Maryage? GEORGE. I can not tell what I shuld saye. There be two spoken of. DEANE. Yee, mary, the duches of Myllaen and one of Cleif. GEORGE. That ys trew. How call ye the little Doctor that ys gone to Cleif? DEANE. Doctor Woten.^g GEORGE. Mary as I heare saye, he sende hym home lately, that ys with hym of the Privey Chamber, I haue forgotten his name. DEANE. Mary his name ys Berde. GEORGE. It ys Berde in deade. Now Syr this Berde ys come home and sende thider warde agayne with the kynges payntour; I pray you kepe this gere secret. DEANE. Mary I warrant you. GEORGE. I maye tell you there ys good hope, yet, that all shalbe well inough if that maryage go forwarde. For the duke of Cleif doeth favour Gods worde, and ys a mighty Prince now; for he hath Gelder lande in his hande to, and that against the Emperor's will; for the olde Duke of Gelder, that ys now deed, solde to the Emperor the reversion of it, & he was ever a skowrge for the Pope when there was any thinge betwixt the Pope and the french kyng. DEANE. Mary I lyke that well that Berde ys gone agayne so shortly. GEORGE. Na surely the matter ys broken of Myllaen, for she ys in no possession of Millaen, nor hath any profit therof. DEANE. I dare saye Myllaen hath cost more good men of Warre their lyves, then are at this houre in all cristendome. GEORGE. And agayn she demaundeth two thinges, of which I trust shull never be granted the tone. DEANE. What be those? GEORGE. Mary she wold haue the kyng accepte the Bisshop of Rome's dispensation. DEANE. That ys sure they will not meddle without his dispen-

^g Wotton's Letter to the King, describing the person and accomplishments of Anne of Cleves, will be found in the first series of Mr. Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 121, and the concluding sentence of it, with Wotton's signature, has been engraved in Mr. John Gough Nichols's interesting Collection of Autographs, plate xv.

sation. **GEORGE.** And also they wold haue pledges. **DEANE.** Why pledges? **GEORGE.** Mary she sayeth that the kynges maiestie was in so litle space rydde of the Quenes, that she dare not trust his cownceill, though she durst trust his maiestie. For her cownceill suspecteth that her great Aunte was poysoned; that the second was innocentlye put to deeth; And the thred lost for lacke of kepinge in her child bed. In good fayth to saye the trouth, I can no tell whether this was her awnsware of Myllaen or of Cleif. I hearde a mutteringe of soch a thinge afore Whitsontyde, but because I haue no grownde of it, I am loth to speake it, but I pray you let it go no forther. Now Syr if it were th'answere of her of Cleif, surely it was a great occasion of the last acte. **DEANE.** By Gods mercy ye saye trowth: but heare ye no thinge of Myllaen more? **GEORGE.** Not a whit, but as I haue tolde you. **DEANE.** Ys Doctour Petre gone, can ye tell? **GEORGE.** He toke me by th'ande at the cowrte apou Sondaye, and asked how my Lorde fared. **DEANE.** Then ys that of Myllaen dashed. **GEORGE.** Why dashed? **DEANE.** For he was appoynted to be sende to her of Myllaen. **GEORGE.** I praye God it be dashed. For of this am I sure that it ys not possible that there can be faythfull anytie betwixt the Kyng, the Emperour, and the French kyng, so longe as the kyng receaveth not the Pope, who ys their God in erth. And alas for this last acte, how can the Germaines be our frendes, when we conclude them heretiques in our actes of Parleamente. **DEANE.** Ye saye trueth, but then it ys likly that it was she of Cleif that gave this awnsware of pledges and that was th'occasion of the acte. **GEORGE.** I beleve the same. It ys lyke so. **DEANE.** Yee, by Sainte Mary, and now maye fortune they of Cleif be better advised. **GEORGE.** I trust so. And that maye fortune ys the stoppinge of the commissions.

Then rodde we with the company, and I showed the Deane that Erasmus Sarcerius ^b had written against my Lorde of Winchester's boke de

^b Erasmus Sarcerius was chaplain to William of Nassau. In the Appendix to Strype's *Memorials*, No. cv, will be found a letter addressed by him to Henry the Eighth, in March 1539.

vera obedientia. And I showed the Deane that he wrote veraye gently. And that he named hym not, but only a "certen Bisshop." And the end of his boke was declaringe, quod deficere ab externa tyrannide Romani Pontificis, non erat vera defectio, sed ab ipsa doctrina Romani Pontificis, erat vere deficere. And therwith in his boke he doeth boeth recite the common places which he taketh pro ipsa doctrina, & confuteth them. And thus communying, and other trifles, we came to Abergaveny, where we dynd, And the same night rode to Brecknock to bed, And by the waye we had this communicacyon, Syr Thomas hearing for the most parte, but he spake veraye litle or no thinge.

GEORGE. DEANE.

If there shuld be any pledges sende into Cleif, in good faith I wolde the Erle of Surraye shulde be one of them. DEANE. It ys the most folish prowde boye that ys in Englande.ⁱ GEORGE. What, man, he hath a wife & a childe, & ye call hym boye? DEANE. By Gods mercy me thinke he exceedeth. GEORGE. What then? he ys wise for all that, as I heare. And as for pride, experience will correcte well inough. No mervail though a yonge man, so noble a mans sonne & heyre apparante be prowde; For we be to prowde ourselves withowt those qualities. But I wold wish that he shuld be one to be sente thider for that he shulde there be fully instructed in Gods worde and of experience. For if the Duke of Northfolke were as fully persuaded in it as he ys in the contrary, he shuld do moch good, for he ys a earnest man, a bold man and a witty, in all his matters. DEANE. It ys trew & ye saye well in that.

And then we comuned agayne of Sarcerius's boke in this manner:

DEANE. GEORGE.

I wold I might se the boke written agaynst the bisshop of Winchester. GEORGE. Mary I have it, And wold gladlyer se his awnsware, for he ys lerned, & as I thinke, the wittiest, the boldest, and the best lerned

ⁱ The Dean's opinion of the gallant, witty, and accomplished Surrey cannot fail to amuse readers of the present day, who have been taught to consider him as the Admirable Crichton of his age. He was at this time about twenty-two years old.

in his facultie that ys in Englonde, and a greate rethorition, but of veraye corrupte Judgement. Truly I can not beleve he will awnsware, for Erasmus ys to stronge for hym in his matter. DEANE. He hath done moch hurte I promise you. GEORGE. Na ther ys no man hath done so moch hurte in this matter as the bisshop of Durrham, ^k for he by hys stilnes sobernes and subteltie worketh more then ten soch as Winchester, & he ys a lerned man too. And a wonderfull thinge my Lorde Privey Seale brought hym in. DEANE. Ye saye the trowth. GEORGE. But these two Bisshops if they were as well lerned in Gods worde as they be in the Popes law, and as earnest to set the worde forth as they be traditions, they were bisshops in deade; but alas by them, and soch, we have no thinge, in a manner but translatio Imperii, so that they make of the kynge as it were a Pope. And dispensations be sold now dearer by the half then they were in the popish tyme. DEANE. By Gods mercye ye saye trewth. GEORGE. I wold not cownceill my Lorde Privey Seale to trust them to moch for all that. For I dare saye this, that they will do the best they can to have hym owte, yf they can se hym at an advantage. I wold trust them, if I could se one of them ones promote or set forwarde but one that ys suspected to favour Gods worde.

And thus we came to Brecknock, where we laye all night, we thre in one chamber. And there the Deane & I rehersed our comunycacyon of the maryage vnto Syr Thomas as we were in our beddes. And the Deane asked me where I had it. And I sayed of George Elyot, but the trueth ys I had it of Thomas Parnell.

Apon Setterdaye, beinge the xxij daye of August, we rode toward Kermarddyn, And in our journey in the mornynge we communed as foloweth :

^k Tunstall's character appears here to be well contrasted with Gardiner's, and their temporary alliance with Cromwell is shrewdly, though indirectly, suggested to that nobleman by Constantyne as the probable forerunner of his downfall, which occurred a few months after.

DEANE. GEORGE.

A my fayth the gere ye showed vs of the maryage ys lykly. But I never hearde of the Quenes that they shuld be thus handled. GEORGE. In good fayth nor I; nother yet I never suspected, but I promise you there was moch muttering of Quene Annes deeth. DEANE. There was in deade. GEORGE. And it ys the thinge that I marked as well, as ever I marked any thinge. DEANE. Did ye so? And I can tell nothinge of it for I was at that tyme at St. Davids. GEORGE. Na, ye were in the diocese of St. Assaph. For my Lorde was that tyme in Scotlonde. And I was the same tyme Mr. Norice's servante. I wrote a Letter of comforth vnto hym, and that after he was condemned. I haue the copie of the same Letter in my howse. DEANE. He had not your Letter. GEORGE. Yes I delyvered it vnsealed vnto Mr. Lieftenant, And he delyvered it Mr. Noryce. DEANE. I pray the what canst thou tell of the matter? Let vs heare. GEORGE. The first that was taken was Markys, And he was at Stepneth in examinacyon on Maye even. I can not tell how he was examined, but apou Maye daye in the mornynge he was in the towre, the trewth ys he confessed it, but yet the sayeing was that he was fyrst greuously racked, which I cowlde never know of a trewth. Apou May daye Mr. Noryce justed. And after justinge the Kyng rode sodenly to Westminster, and all the waye as I heard saye, had Mr. Noryce in examinacyon and promised hym his pardon in case he wolde utter the trewth. But what so ever cowlde be sayed or done, Mr. Norice wold confess no thinge to the Kyng, where vpon he was committed to the towre in the mornynge. And by the waye as his chapleyn tolde me he confessed, but he sayed at his arrayning, when his owne confession was layed afore hym, that he was deceaved to do the same by the Erle of Hampton that now ys.¹ But what so ever he sayed, he was cast.

¹ Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Household, who was created Earl of Southampton in 1537, the year after Anne's execution. In the absence of all documentary evidence relating to the examinations, the Letters of Sir William Kyngston and Edward Baynton (all of them unfortunately mutilated), will not fail to be interesting. See Ellis's *Original Letters*, first series, vol. ii. p. 52, et seq.

DEANE. But what can ye tell of Brerton? GEORGE. By my troeth, yf any of them was innocent, it was he. For other he was innocente or els he dyed worst of them all. DEANE. How so? GEORGE. Apon thursdaye afore Maye daye in the mornynge I spake with hym abowt nyne of the clocke, And he tolde me that there was no waye but one with any matter. For I did aske hym & was bold apon hym because we were borne within foure myles together, And also we wente to grammar scole together. And the same daye afore ij of the clock was he in the towre as ferre as the best. What was layed against hym I know not nor never hearde. But at his deeth these were his wordes: I haue deserved to dye if it were a thousande deethes, But the cause wherfore I dye judge not: But yf ye judge, judge the best. This he spake iij or foure tymes. If he were gyltie, I saye therfore that he dyed worst of them all. DEANE. Why, how dyed the others? GEORGE. Mary in a manner confessed all but Mr. Norice, who sayed almost nothings at all. DEANE. How do ye know it? GEORGE. Mary I hearde them, and wrote every worde that they spake. DEANE. What sayed the others? GEORGE. The lorde of Ratchforde, after many wordes, to the effecte sayed this. I desyre you that no man wilbe discouraged from the Gospell for my fall. For if I had lyved accordinge to the gospel as I loved it, and spake of it, I had never come to this. Wherfore sayed he Syrs for Gods love, leave not the gospel, but speake lesse and lyve better. For I had rather have one good lyver accordinge to the gospel then ten bablers. And Weston sayed, I had thought to haue lyved in abhominacion yet this twenty or thrittie yeres & then to haue made amendes. I thought little it wold haue come to this: willinge all other to take example at hym. And Markes sayed: Masters I pray you all praye for me, for I haue deserved the deeth. And the Quene sayed: I do not entende to reason my cause, but I committe me to Christ wholly, in whome ys my whole trust, desirynge you all to praye for the Kynges maiestie that he maye longe regne over you, for he ys a veraye noble prince and full gently hath handled me. DEANE. Know ye any thinge of the exami-

nacyon of her? **GEORGE.** Her brother and she were examined at the towre. I hearde saye he had escaped had it not byn for a Letter. Almost all the lordes that were in the realme were there. And the duke of Northfolke, vncle to them both, he was, as it was told me, in the Kynges place and Judge. It were pittie he shuld be alyve if he shuld judge them against right. **DEANE.** A marvelouse case, and a great fall. **GEORGE.** So it was. Now Syr, because that she was a favorer of Gods worde, at the leest wise so taken, I tell you few men wolde beleve that she was so abhominable. As I be saved afore God I cowlde not beleve it, afore I hearde them speake at their deeth. For there were that sayed that moch money wold haue byn layed that daye, & that great oddes, that the Lorde Ratchforde shulde haue byn quytte. **DEANE.** I never hearde so moch before, as that the Duke of Northfolke was judge. **GEORGE.** So I hearde saye, And that the water ronne in his eyes. I blame hym not though it greved hym.

We had also comunicacyon of the boke made agenst Luther in the Kynges name.

DEANE. GEORGE.

The Kyngs grace ys marvelously well lerned. **GEORGE.** He ys surely well lerned, and of a great witte, or els he cowlde not haue brought matters to passe as he hath done. And besyde he hath a great grace of gentlenesse which ys moch to be commended in a prince. **DEANE.** He ys exceadinge well lerned, for he wrote a boke agenst Luther, a great while agoo. **GEORGE.** By my trowth, I thinke it was no more his graces makynge then yours. **DEANE.** I ever thought It had been his. **GEORGE.** It ys not possible. For it ys abowte xvij yeres agoo sence that boke was written. And that tyme the kyng was more geven to yowth and lesse to his boke then his grace ys now. **DEAN.** Is not the Kynge lerned? **GEORGE.** I thinke he ys best lerned of any prince in Christendome, but I take hym not to be so well lerned. For that boke ys made of men of great studye & sayeth as moch in matters it entreateth as maye be sayed.

DEANE. Who made it then? GEORGE. Mary they that be lerned thinke it was the doinge of the Bisshop of Yorke that now ys, & Mr. More.^m

^m Some brief observations on this question will be found towards the end of the preceding introductory Letter, to which I have now the satisfaction to add the substance of a communication obligingly made to me by my friend John Bruce, Esq. and which has been since read at a Meeting of the Society, containing a Summary of the Evidence which his researches have enabled him to collect on this question.

Mr. Bruce says, "There is very little evidence upon which the authorship of this volume can be assigned to any particular person; but what there is I will endeavour so to arrange that the strength or weakness of each particular point may more clearly appear.

"On the part of those who maintain the King's proper authorship, there are—

"The book itself, and the King's reply to Luther's letter to him, in both which the whole merit is assumed by the King. The book itself is, however, subject to objections, which I shall state hereafter, and the assertion in the reply is of little value, since the King could not be expected to nullify his title to the reward which the book had then obtained for him. Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 80, note †, second edit.) seems to place greater reliance upon the declaration of authorship in the reply than it deserves. Having once taken the book upon himself, Henry could not but abide by it at whatever cost.

"On this side of the question may also be produced the authority of Polydore Vergil (*Angl. Hist.* p. 664, edit. 1570); Speed (*Hist.* p. 759, edit. 1611); Fisher, who published a defence of the work, and attributes it to the King of England 'not less famous in arms than in letters' (*Defensio Reg. Ass.*, dedicat.); Herbert (*Life of Henry VIII.* p. 94, edit. 1672); Holinshed, who, however strangely he talks of the book, does not seem to impeach Henry's authorship (vol. ii. p. 872, edit. 1587); Strype (*Eccles. Mem.* vol. i. p. 33.), and many other authors who treat the 'Assertio' as the work of him whose name it bears, without even mentioning any rumour of a doubt upon the subject.

"The circumstances under which the book was written ought also to be considered, and will be found to support Henry's claim to the authorship. In relating these circumstances I shall rely upon the authority of some documents in a volume of correspondence, preserved amongst the MSS. in the Cotton Library, and marked Vitellius, B. iv. These documents give a very minute account of the transaction, and, as some passages in them are curious, and have not, I believe, appeared in print, I shall state their contents rather fully. Pallavicino in his '*Vera Concilii Tridentini Historia*,' lib. 2. cap. 1. confirms their account, but his statement is of course far more general.

"Pace, in a letter addressed to Wolsey, (Cott. MSS. Vitellius, B. iv. No. 59,) dated the 15th April without any year, but evidently written in 1521, and which letter has been printed in the second series of Mr. Ellis's Collection of Letters, vol. i. p. 286, gives an

And that the Cardinals policie was to have it put forth in the Kynges name, therby thinkynge to make the kynge and the bisshop of Rome

account of an interview he had that day had with the King. Pace found his Majesty 'lokyng upon a book of Luther's, and upon such dispraise as his Grace did give unto the said book,' Pace took occasion to deliver a Bull which he had lately brought from Rome, and which, from the context, I imagine to have been the one in condemnation of certain doctrines in Luther's works, which was published at Paul's Cross, on the 12th day of May 1521 (vide Cott. MSS. Vitell. B. iv. No. 66. p. 111.)

"The King remarked, 'that it was joyouse to have this tidings from the Pope's Holiness at such time as he had taken upon him the defence of Christ's Church, with his penne, afore the receipt of the said tidings,' and in consequence of Pace's information, and a letter from the Pope urging expedition in the condemnation of Luther's heresies, the King promised 'to take more pain to make an end' of his book within a specified time. The precise time within which the book was to be finished cannot now be ascertained, as the part of the letter in which this passage occurred was destroyed in the fire of 1731, which mutilated so many of the Cotton MSS. It is evident, however, from this letter that the composition of the book was well advanced in April 1521, and the whole tenour of the letter seems quite inconsistent with the idea that this book, which the King promised to take pains to finish, was not actually written by his Majesty. Shortly after the date of Pace's letter an event occurred, which does not seem to have been connected with the 'Assertio' in the first instance, but which ultimately secured for it the slight notice which has been accorded to it by posterity. The pride of Henry and his love of personal display and of high sounding titles were wounded by the consideration, that amongst the great Sovereigns of Europe he was the only one undistinguished by any title connected with the prevailing religion. Wolsey, therefore, applied to the College of Cardinals to grant his master some title equivalent to those of the French and Spanish monarchs. This application was made through Cardinal Campeius in June 1521, (vide Cott. MSS. Vitell. B. iv. p. 116). It appears that a division of opinion arose in the Consistory upon the subject. Some Cardinals contended that no reason existed for conferring a new title; others were desirous that the title of 'Most Christian King,' of which Pope Julius II. was said in a fit of anger to have deprived the French King, should be transferred to Henry; and others proposed various new titles, as 'The Apostolic,' 'The Protector of the Faith,' 'The Orthodox,' 'The Faithful,' and 'The Angelic,' alluding to the name Anglicus, which last, properly remarks Pallavicino, had more the air of a joke than an honour. Nothing was at that time determined; but the Pope wrote to several of the Cardinals upon the subject, and a communication was made to Wolsey, by Cardinal Campeius, to ascertain which of the proposed titles best pleased his master. The letter from Campeius to Wolsey is in existence, although a good deal damaged,

joyned for ever. DEANE. And I beleved ever that he had byn exceedingly well lerned. GEORGE. So he ys I saye for a prince. But ever

(Cotton MSS. Vitellius, B. iv. p. 116). The book, in the composition of which Henry had been previously engaged, was now seized upon, and made a means of procuring that title which the Consistory appeared unwilling to bestow. Accordingly I find by a letter from Wolsey to Dr. John Clerk, then the English resident at Rome, dated from Bruges, August 25, 1521, that the Cardinal, after referring to some former letters in which he had explained to Clerk 'the King's Catholique mind for repressing and extingting the diabolical opinions and detestable heresies of Martin Luther,' and also, 'what pain, labour, and studie his Highnes hath taken in devising and making a book for the confutacion of his said erroneous opinions,' he proceeds to inform Clerk that, 'the said booke is by his Highnes perfected,' and gives very minute directions as to the course he should adopt in presenting to the Pope a copy of the book, written and covered with cloth of gold, and also in obtaining a Bull of approbation to be annexed to certain copies of the book, which were then sent to Clerk in order to be forwarded to 'the Christian Princes, universities, and other places,' mentioned in a list inclosed. He also says that, 'inasmoche as the King's Highnes has this [way]* declared hymself as the veray defender of the Catholique faith [of] Crist's Church as well wt his preysence as wt his lernyng, [and hath] deserved by his condigne merits to have a peculiar name [granted] unto him by the See apostolique, for a ppetual memory thereof;' that 'The King's grace, by th' advice of his counsaill, hath made a memoriall of such titles as he thought moste convenient,' which was enclosed in this letter, 'with speciall annotacons of such as be moste acceptable,' and concludes with directing Clerk to procure 'Bullys thereupon to be made' (vide Cott. MSS. Vitellius, B. iv. No. 70).

"Clerk in his answer to Wolsey dated 14th September 1521, informs him that, immediately upon the receipt of the books and his letter, he had waited upon the Pope, and 'delyvered his Holines ij bokys, [one] of them coverd with clothe of gold, the other with b † and his Holynes † and with a very amyabill † the said bokys of me, and beholding the porteur, fashion, and pryme deckyng of the said bokis (whiche he semyd to lyke veray well) openyd the boke coverd with clothe of gold, and begynnyng the prohem redde thereof successively v lefes without interruption.' 'His Holynes in redyng, at such placeis as he lykyed (and that seemyd to be att every second lyne), made ever some demonstracion, vel nutu vel verbo.' 'And when his Holynes had redd a great season, I assur your Grace he gaff the boke a great commendacion, and sayd ther was therein moche wytt and clerkly conveyance, and how that ther were many great

* The words within [] are conjectural additions to supply defects in the MS.

† I am unable to supply these defects with any certainty.

take hede to this. The worlde ever flatters them that be in authoritie. And what so ever they saye or do ys clerkly, wisely, and exceedingly

clerkis that had wryten in the matter, but thys boke should seem to pass all thers.' After some other conversation, Pace took up the book, in which the King had written two dedicatory lines, 'and by cause the King's Grace,' he says, 'had wryten the sayd versis with a very small penne, and by cause I knew the Pope to be of a very dull sight, I wold have redde unto his Holynes the said versis a[loud; but] his Holyness, quada' aviditate legendi, toke the boke from me and redd the sayd versis iij tymes very promptly, to my great mervel, and comendyng them singlarly.' The letter proceeds to detail much more conversation about the mode of public presentation and the granting of the title, the Pope still looking 'upon the bokys, now in the on, now in the other; now shett, now open; hear on chapitre, and ther another; as men that be lothe to depart, do often take ther leff,' praising 'the Kyng's witt, learning, and wisdom, and also your Grace, whom his Holynes reputyth to have been a deligent comfortar and sterrar, that the Kyng's Grace shold thus employ his tyme, and who is also penne and counsail, his Holynes supposed, ded now and then in the said boke joyne with the Kyng's Grace is.' A Consistory for the public presentation of the volume was not called immediately, because many of the Cardinals were at that time absent from Rome on account of the excessive heat; but on the 15th October we find Clerk again writing to Wolsey to inform him that a Consistory had been held, and the book presented (vide Cott. MSS. Vitel. B. iv. No. 92, p. 185). This letter is curious, as presenting an exact account of the humiliating ceremonies to which the ambassador of one of the greatest European nations was compelled to submit, in his interview with this 'Servus servorum Dei.' The Consistory consisted merely of Prelates, and was not public, as had been proposed. For this departure from the previous arrangement, the Pope assigned as a reason that, 'the matters of Luther' being then forgotten, 'the lesse steryng that should be made [therein the better], meny amongst the rude and comyn people beyng somewhat forwardly disposed all redye.' The members of the Consistory having assembled, Clerk proceeds thus, 'The Master off the Ceremonyes came unto me and informyd me somewhat of the ceremonyes, and amongst all other, that I shold kneel upon my knees all the tyme of myn oracion, whereat [I] was somewhat abashed, for my thought I shold not [have] my harte ne my spirittis so moche at my libertye, [and I] fearyd greatly lest they shold nott serve me so well kneeling as they wold standyng; howbeit there was no remedy; nedys I most do as the master of the ceremonyes [directed] me. And so folowyng him I entered the place of th[e Consistory] wher the Popis Holines sat in his majestie upon a [throne] iij. steppis from the grownd, under neth a clothe [of estate]; a for hym, in a large quadrant upon stolis, sat the [Cardinals] in their consistoriall habtits to the number of xx, [one stool being left] voyd directly before the Popis Holynes, whiche the Master of the Ceremonyes removyd,

well done, and sayed. Solomon hath soch a sayenge as I remember :
Loquutus est dives et stultè, et omnes applaudent illi : loquutus est pau-

and brought me through the Cardynals with iij. obeysances to the Pope's Holynes, and causyd me to kysse his foott, and at myn uprising, when I was tournyng to my place again, his Holynes toke me by the sholders, and caused me to kysse first the on cheke then the other; that don, after a lowe obeysance I went to the voyd place of the quadrant, where as I come in amongst the Cardynals, and ther havynge the stoole before me, knelyng upon my knees I mad myn oracion.' 'After myn oracion I rose upe, and with iij. obeysanceis went unto the Pope and deliveryd hym the King is booke, and immediatly retornyd unto my place agayne, wher unto me knelyng his Holynes spake this wordis.' After the Pope had finished his reply, Clerk made another obeysance, and then departed. Clerk, by Wolsey's direction, endeavoured to have the volume sanctioned by a Consistorial decree, but in this he was unsuccessful; the Pope refused it as unusual, but promised that, 'the See shold do as much for the confirmation of this booke as ever was done for the workys of St. Augustine or St. Jerome.' In the next Consistory the King's title was granted without further difficulty; and in the same volume of MSS. Vitellius, B. iv. No. 92, is a letter from Leo to Henry in praise of his book, and addressed him as 'defensor fidei' and No. 96, a letter from Campeius to Wolsey, also praising the book, and informing him that the title had been granted; the bull for the title, although signed during the life-time of Leo, was not transmitted until after his death, having been delayed in order to procure certain verses which the Pope caused to be written upon the occasion (vide Cott. MSS. Vitellius, B. iv. No. 102.) Probably the verses alluded to are those by Vida, printed in Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. iv. Appendix, p. 32, 4to edition. A letter from Cardinal de' Medici to Henry, inclosing the Bull and announcing the death of Leo, is preserved, Vitellius, B. iv. No. 101, and has been printed in Roscoe's *Leo X.* Appendix to vol. iv. p. 73, 4to edition. I have been thus minute in relating the circumstances under which this volume was written and published, partly because the particulars are a little curious and illustrative of manners, and have not hitherto, I believe, been made public; and partly, also, that it may clearly appear that the work was at any event commenced before the application for the title, and may therefore fairly be presumed to have been the offspring of the royal zeal against Luther, and not a mere political trick—a book got up for the occasion, and in order to earn a title, in the way of obtaining which a difficulty had arisen.

"The intellectual attainments of Henry, his capacity for such a literary exertion, ought also to be taken into the account. To the evidence which Mr. Sharon Turner has collected upon this point may be added the alterations made by Henry himself in his coronation oath, as shown in Mr. Ellis's *Letters*, second series; the alterations pointed out by Burnet as made by Henry in various documents, and particularly in a Latin definition of

per et sapienter, et derident illum. DEANE. That ys a pratty sayenge. How do you know that the Kynge ys not so well lerned? GEORGE.

the Catholic Church, printed in Burnet with the King's amendments (*Hist. of Reform.* vol. i. Appendix, p. 368); and a letter of Erasmus, quoted in Jortin's *Life*, vol. i. p. 486, which would have answered Mr. Turner's purpose, but which I do not find he has referred to. In this letter, Erasmus states that Henry, amongst a multitude of other qualifications, was given to theological disputation, and that he prepared himself for argument by the study of scholastic authors, Thomas, or Scotus, or Gabriel. Erasmus, also, in the same letter gives a specimen of the excellence of his Majesty's style of Latin composition. All these things show (in the words of Mr. Hallam,) that 'Henry had acquired a fair portion of theological learning,' and was not disqualified by want of ability from being the author of the work in question—a view of the subject adopted by Horace Walpole (*Roy. Authors*), who, with a striking want of acuteness, depreciates the merit of the book, and yet argues that Henry was incompetent to write it.

"As evidence calculated to throw suspicion over Henry's concern in the composition of the book, it may be pointed out that the author appears to have anticipated that doubts would arise as to the justice of the King's claim, and therefore, in a very suspicious manner, grapples with them beforehand. In the dedicatory letter to the Pope, Henry is made to suppose that it would be a matter of wonder to his Holiness that a Prince, whose youth had been spent in wars and in the business of the State, should have taken upon him a task better suited to a man whose whole life had been spent in study. He therefore professes that, although his learning be so trifling as scarcely worthy to be at all accounted, he took up the pen in full reliance that the grace of God would so co-operate with him that what he was unable to perform, the Deity, in his goodness and by his almighty power, would accomplish for him. He says also, that having observed that in the administration of public affairs religion had always the most influence, and was accounted of the greatest moment, as soon as he attained to maturer years he devoted himself to the study of its doctrines with considerable attention, and, although sensible that he had made little progress therein, he trusts that his knowledge is sufficient to overthrow the subtleties of the Lutheran heresies. In the Preface to the reader, he also disclaims eloquence and learning, but enlarges upon his duty to defend the Church of Christ. It may be remarked upon these prefaces, that their proud humility, and the avowals of want of learning which they contain, are quite inconsistent with the language ordinarily made use of by Henry's flatterers, and would scarcely have been ventured by any other person than himself; but at the same time the volunteering most unsatisfactory answers to anticipated objections, seems to show how fully sensible the writer was that the publication was of a suspicious character.

"The suspicions which the writer of the book anticipated, soon arose. Luther in his reply to the King, dated 1st September 1525, says he had been credibly informed that the

Mary his maiestie reasoned with me hymselfe almost nyne yeres agoo. And beside that it ys not possible he shuld be so well lerned, a Kynge

book which passed under his Majesty's name, was not the composition of the King of England, as the artful sophists who had abused his Majesty's name desired it should be thought; and again, in his reply to Henry's answer to the above letter, Luther tells him that it was certain and beyond all doubt that the King himself did not write the work in question. Erasmus also states that the King's authorship was doubted by many, (vide letter quoted in Jortin's Erasmus, p. 486, vol. i.) and Godwin, in his Annals, has a forcible passage in which he describes the book, "*adeo provectoris ætatis et exercitato aliquo Theologo dignior quam adolescente Rege—ut alii Thomæ Mori, alii Fisherii Roffensis, plurimi vero alterius alicujus summi viri opus id fuisse haud sine causâ suspicarentur.*" p. 21,—edit. 1611. It appears, therefore, that shortly after its publication the book was generally attributed to others. No one, however, seems to have taken much trouble to ascertain its real author.

"Sir Thomas More was amongst the various persons to whom it was attributed, and when he refused to take the Oath of the King's Supremacy, he was reproached with having procured and provoked the King to set forth a book by which he had put a sword into the Pope's hands to fight against him. Sir Thomas More's answer is very important to our inquiry. 'His Highnes right well knoweth that I was never procurer nor counsellor of his Majesty thereunto. But after it was finished, by his Grace's appointment and consent of the makers of the same, I was onlie a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained. Whearin when I fownde the Pope's authority highlie advanced, and with strong arguments mightily defended, I said unto his Grace, I must put your Highnes in remembrance of one thing, and that is this: The Pope, as your Grace knoweth, is a Prince, as you are, and in league with all other Christian Princes: yt may soe hereafter fall out that your Grace and he may varie uppon some points of leagues, whearuppon may growe breache of amitie, and warre between you bothe. I think it best therefore that that place be amended, and his authoritie more slenderlie touched.' 'Nay,' quoth his Grace, 'that it shall not: we are soe much bounden to the Sea of Rome that we cannot doe too much honour to it.' Then did I put him in mind of the Statute of Premunire, whearby a good part of the Pope's pastorall cure heare was pared awaie. To that answered his Highnes, 'Whatsoever impediment be to the contrary we will set forth that authority to the uttermost, for we receive from that Sea our Crown Imperiall,' 'which,' adds More, silyly, 'I never heard of before till his Grace towld it me with his owne mouthe.' (Roper's Life of More, p. 77, edit. 1731.) Here then we find the King as superintendant, certain persons designated 'makers,' and Sir T. More as 'sorter.' Burnet seems to have mistaken the nature of Sir Thomas's occupation, which he says 'seems to relate to digesting the book into method and order.' (Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 171.)

hauynge soch busynesse & so great entysementes to pleasures. Lernynge requireth almost, yea all together, an whole man. DEANE. What

The words appear to me to describe very accurately the compilation of the table of contents of the principal matters, which is prefixed to the book, and which we may conclude to have been the work of Sir Thomas More.

"The inquiry then resolves itself into—who were the 'makers' of More? the 'doli sophistæ' of Luther?

"Gardiner has been suggested by Fuller, (Ch. Hist. edit. 1655, p. 168. Cent. 16.), but apparently more for the sake of the pun which his name afforded, than for any real reason—"Some other Gardiner gathered the flowers, though the King had the honour to wear the posie."

"An edition of the several letters which passed between Henry and Luther was edited by Cochläus, and published at Cologne, 1527. The editor added critical notes in the margin of Luther's letters, and against a passage which alludes to the authorship of Henry's book, Cochläus notes, 'Imo certu' est errare Luther' q' aliu' nescit proferre authore' q' Rege' ip'm.' In the copy of this book in the British Museum, the following words are written under this note, in a hand which I imagine is not much less antient than the publication itself, 'Gardineru' Winton.' By whom this was written I have no knowledge, but, together with Fuller's pun, it furnishes, I believe, all the evidence affecting Gardiner. In answer, it may be sufficient to point out, that Gardiner is related not to have been admitted into the King's familiarity and confidence until 1525, upon the occasion of the treaty with France after the battle of Pavia. This was four years after the composition of the 'Assertio.' (vide Biog. Brit. voce Gardiner, and Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 273, edit. 1721.)

"Seckendorff (Comment. de Lutheranismo, p. 187) says, that Luther attributed the King's work to Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York; but from a passage in the next page it would appear that Luther merely 'suspected' that prelate, and the grounds of his suspicion are not stated. The only English authority that I am aware of, that has suggested Lee, is Roper's Life of More: in a marginal note to which (p. 77, edit. 1731,) the 'makers' are said to be 'Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Lee, after Archbishop of York, as the report was.' Lee appears to have been an obsequious servant to the King, and to have regarded the doctrines advanced in the 'Assertio' as little as Henry himself. It might be expected that, if merely to purchase silence, Henry would have distinguished the authors by valuable and immediate preferment; but that reasoning does not seem to apply very forcibly to Lee. In November 1523, two years after the publication, he was appointed Archdeacon of Colchester, and during the agitation of the divorce he was Ambassador to the Emperor, jointly with the Bishop of Worcester; but it was ten years after the publication before he was raised to the Archbishopric of York, which was his

ys the Kynge now lustie? **GEORGE.** His grace was lustie, but it greved me at the hearte to se his grace halte so moch upon his sore legge. By

first bishopric. There does not appear to be any thing like contemporary evidence to support the rumour as to Lee.

"Bishop Fisher is the other person stated in the note to Roper to have been singled out by report, and as it appears to me with considerable probability. His intimacy with Henry, and the respect in which he was held by that monarch, are undoubted. His zeal against the Lutheran doctrines it is well-known brought him early into the field of controversy against them. His constancy equalled his ardour, and with honorable consistency he fought against the German innovations, step by step. The authority which appears to be principally relied upon for assigning to Bishop Fisher a share in Henry's book, is a life of the Prelate written by Dr. Richard Hall, of Christ's College, Cambridge, a zealous Catholic. This life was made much use of by Fuller, who possessed it in MS. and is the chief authority for the life of Fisher in the *Biog. Brit.* It was published Lond. 16mo. 1655, under the name of Thomas Bailey. The author of this work merely says, that the book in question was 'supposed by divers to be written by my Lord Rochester.' These words have been strained by subsequent writers to a far more extensive signification than they deserve. It is evident that at the very furthest they furnish nothing more than evidence of the prevailing rumour. Neither Bishop Fisher's capacity for the work, nor his willingness to assist in any task which might be thought likely to stay the growing heresy can be doubted. Some may consider it a circumstance of suspicion, that, very shortly after Luther's reply, Fisher published a volume in defence of the King's book, in which he treats the German with as much contumely as if his scornful answer had been directed against himself; but does not notice Luther's assertion that the book was not written by the King. If it were objected that Fisher does not appear to have received any benefit from the publication—the answer is ready. He was offered several better bishoprics than Rochester, but refused in the well-known answer, that his church was his wife, and he would not desert her because she happened to be poor.

"Wolsey is another upon whom suspicion has been thrown. His zeal, profession, ability, and constant attendance upon the King, are sufficient grounds for believing that the book was written not merely with his knowledge and approbation, but that he was well acquainted with its contents. Burnet has printed a letter which shows Wolsey to have had the direction of the binding and writing of the copy sent to the Pope, and also that the dedicatory lines to Leo, such as they are, were probably obtained by his means (*Hist. Reform.* vol. iii. Appendix, p. 7.) It also appears from one of Clerk's letters, quoted above, that the Pope attributed the book to Wolsey's pen and counsel, jointly with those of the King. Further than this I know of no evidence which implicates him.

"Upon the whole, then, all that seems known respecting the authorship of this volume

my trowth, if I myght speake with his grace so that I had hope he wolde heare me I wolde move hym to kepe the diate of Gwaiacum, I durst aventure my lyfe It wolde heale hym. DEANE. But ye durst not. GEORGE. By God but I durst. What made it any matter for my lyfe or twentye thousande soch for the preservacion of his lyfe? DEANE. Ye shuld have tolde Doctour Buttes so. GEORGE. I did not remember it when I spake with hym, And I know well inough that it ys a thinge the phisicions will not medle with. For none of the olde autours write of it. And it ys in a maner agenst the common rules of phisick. But it were a small thinge for the preservacyon of his Grace if one were lokod owt of the Kynges complexion and that had a sore legge & so to prove it. Now then if it wolde heale hym, why shuld it not heale the Kyng as well? It healeth the pockes, the gowte, the spue, the colyck, yee any ulceracyon that ys curable. And the lepre if it be but new begonne. And it healeth the rote so that it shall not lightly breake owt agayne. It healeth some in fourtene dayes, some in a month. I never knew any that was curable but it cured hym in vj wekes. If he kept it well. And it were not moch for the Kyng for his owne health & to preserve hym longe healthy to the realme for to take payne for so longe. DEANE. Ye saye trowth. But where lerned ye it? It ys a gaye thinge. GEORGE. Mary I was a surgyon in Brabant a whoale yere and haue

may be summed up in few words. It was begun to be written before the 15th April 1521, and was finished before the 25th August in the same year. There can be no doubt that the King received assistance from the learned men about him, and in all probability many arguments and passages were altogether the work of others; but still there seems reason to believe that, in the first instance, at any event, the book proceeded from the King's own pen, and that throughout it was subject to his superintendence and controul. We know that he was consulted upon one suggested alteration which he refused to allow. By whom he was assisted is unknown. Rumour has singled out Lee, Fisher, and Wolsey; amongst whom probability seems to me to suggest Fisher as the most likely to have been active in the work, the others, or at any event Wolsey, contributing perhaps occasional suggestions. The dedicatory lines were furnished through Wolsey's means, but by whom they were written does not appear. The table of contents were compiled by Sir Thomas More."

occupied it. And besyde that I haue knowen dyvers in Englande healed with it. And in good fayth, seinge that conjugium sacerdotum ys concluded agenst Gods worde, I entende to study the same facultie agayne. I will loke over myne olde bokes. I am glad that I haue them yet.

Thus comunynge we came to Llangadoc to dyner, where we dyned ffrendly together. Where ys also one Mr. Thomas Jones, a servante of the Kynges, and a great Ruler in that contrey. At after dyner withowt comunicacyon of any matters but husbandre and howsholdinge, we rodde to Kermarddyn.^a And there we supped and laye all night, And in the mornynge apon Sondag, beinge the xxiiijth daye of August, we rode to Slebech together, two myles by yonde my howse, And dyned there at Roger Barlowes with great kyndnesse as I toke it. And thence I toke my leave of the Deane to my wife, apon condicyon that I wold come that waye in the mornynge towarde Saynte Davids. And so I did. And the Deane layed no thinge to my charge all this tyme, nor his brother Syr Thomas nor any other man. No nor when he came to Sainte Davids hym selfe apon twesdaye he layed no thinge agenst me. But apon Wensdaye the xxvijth daye of August then he began to accuse me. Now of what mynde the Deane doeth accuse me I trust your lordship doeth perceave, in that ye haue knowen his malyce towarde me longe. And forther your lordship maye perceave in case it please the same to aske Master Syr Richarde Crumwell, who moved hym to write two letters vnto my Lorde my Master agenst me. Also the Duke of Northfolke his grace can shew who moved hym to speake to my lorde my Master agenst me. The Deane forther hath sklandered me for a Sacramentary, which ys, yf any thinge can be worse, more heynous then treason. It greved me, I take God to recorde, more then my person to heare your Lordship so greatly note me of heresye. The Deane and his brethern Syr Thomas Barlow & Roger Barlow haue contynually geven me good reporte, And I am sure haue holpen well to that note. I am in prison if they can fynde

^a Caermarthen.

that ever I medled in any matters but these: Justificacyon and by lyvinge faith: Pilgremage: Invocacyon of Saintes: Worshippinge of Images: cownterfayted religions: trustinge to ceremonies & abuse of them: Ignorante and superstitious prayeing: superstitious fastes & conjugium sacerdotum, Of the which I never reasoned sence the acte. And I refuse all favour. But Mr. Dean ys a man, that can make of a pece a whole tale, and if he haue a man downe he can invente as hym lusteth. I haue faythfully written our comunicacyon wherin my conscience accuseth me of no treason. If the Dean and his brother other wise leuen it, I pray God forgeve them: for in good faith I thanke God I haue forgiven them in my hearte or I came owt of your lordships chamber. But I praye God kepe all symple honest heartes owt of their company. They maye agree at their pleasure, for comynge from Wales they laye every night together, And spende most parte of their journey in repeting their lessons with addicyons & detractions at their pleasure. Which if it will so be taken, or without justice maye so be taken, I can not saye but with Susan: *Angustiæ sunt mihi vndique*. For with the note of a traytor I desyre not to lyve, no not though I myght, I thank God. Nor my hearte, God knoweth, never wissed the kynges majestie nor any of his honorable cownceill but prosperous honour and myndes to know God, to love God, and to feare God. I trust what so ever come of me, I shall beare this testimonie afore his eyes from whom ys no thinge hydde, not the secretes of the hearte. To whom be all honour & glorie for ever Amen.^o

^o The effect produced by the above Memorial does not appear. The fall of Cromwell, and his death on the scaffold, followed shortly after.

VI. *Account of some subterranean Chambers discovered near Carrigtohill, County of Cork, and at Ballyhendon, near Fermoy in the same County: Communicated by THOMAS CROFTON CROKER, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., in a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 17th December, 1829.

Barnes, Surrey, December 15, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

WHEN at Cork, in the early part of the present year, I was informed that some subterranean Chambers had been recently discovered on a farm named Garranes, in the parish of Carrigtohill, about nine miles east of that city.

By the kindness of Mr. Cummins, the proprietor of the ground, I was afforded an opportunity of examining these Chambers, in company with Mr. Robert O'Callaghan Newenham, whose pencil has so skilfully illustrated the picturesque antiquities of Ireland. They are situated within one of those circular entrenchments, popularly (but I am inclined to think incorrectly) termed "Danish Forts." The diameter of this entrenchment is one hundred and twenty feet; and at the third of that space from the south side appeared a circular pit, about seven feet in depth, and measuring five feet and a half in diameter.

From this pit (which probably had been a chamber, the roof having fallen in) two holes, resembling the entrances to fox-earths, descended at an angle of about twenty degrees into Chambers of a depressed beehive-like shape, excavated from the soil, which is a stiff clay mixed with gravel. These holes or passages (in size barely sufficient to allow a

man to creep through them) respectively led to a Chamber formed, as I have just described, without any masonry, and from each of these a like communication led to a third Chamber, from which there was a similar passage into a fourth. Here terminated our examination, in consequence of finding that the passage into a fifth Chamber was blocked up with large stones, two or three of which we removed, but from the confined space the workman was placed in, it would have been impossible for us to have opened this communication without more time and labour than we had it in our power to devote to the investigation.

The dimensions of the Chambers varied from seven to eight feet in diameter, and in form they were between the oval and the circle. I annex a Plan,^a as it will convey at a glance a better idea of their relative situations than can be done by description; and also a section of the entrenchment, with measurements.^b

When the discovery of these Chambers was made, a considerable quantity of charcoal was found in them, and the fragment of a quern or hand-mill.

It may not be irrelevant to mention, that on Mr. Cummins' farm at Garranes there are five circular entrenchments or forts, all of which we visited. At the distance of about fifty yards from one of these, on the descent of a hill, a spot was pointed out to us, as the entrance of a passage or tunnel leading into chambers beneath the fort; but it had been closed up for many years by the falling in of the earth. Our informant, who was an old man, stated, that when a boy he remembers to have gone some way into this passage, and that the sides were lined with very large stones, upon which great flags rested and formed the roof.

We caused an excavation to be made here for a short time, but we were obliged to abandon the undertaking, without discovering the entrance, although from the vast quantity of charcoal turned up, there appeared to be little doubt that the information given to us was correct.

Within a circle of five miles round Garranes there are no less than

^a Plate X. Fig. 1.

^b Plate X. Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Plan and Section of Subterranean Chambers at Carrigrohull near Cork



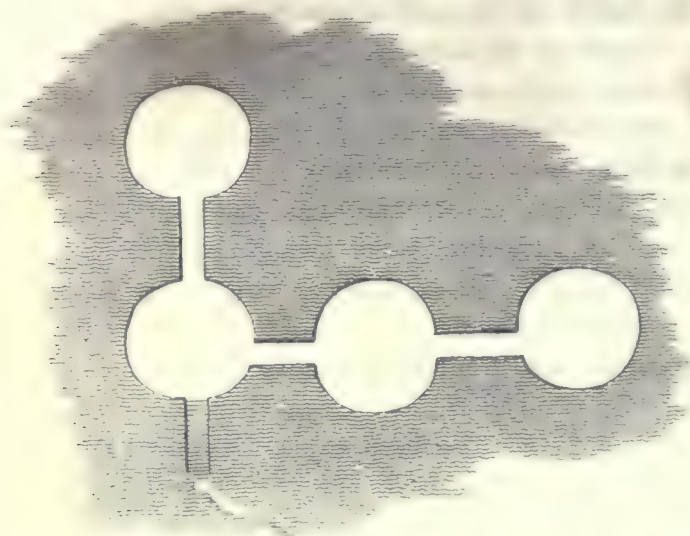
fourteen circular entrenchments remaining. They are called by the country people, when speaking of them in Irish, as far as I can perceive, indifferently "Lis" and "Rath," and in English, "the Danes' Fort," or "the old Fort." The tradition of the peasantry is, that the Irish, after the battle of Clontarf, when the Danes retreated to these subterranean Chambers for security, kindled large fires at the entrance, the smoke of which either suffocated those within or compelled them to crawl forth; and thus were the invaders destroyed. Another popular notion is, that by means of these forts, which are said (and with some foundation) to have been constructed within view of each other, a communication was kept up by the Danes throughout the country. This was effected by means of fires, one or more of which were lighted to convey certain pieces of intelligence.

I have repeated these traditions because they are so general, and have no doubt originated from the frequent discovery of charcoal in and about the entrenchments. To me it appears probable that these works were thrown up by the native Irish around their little wigwam settlements, as a defence against any sudden attack from an enemy or from wolves, and that subterranean chambers or cellars were formed for granaries, or as secure depositories in time of danger for their rude property.^c That so many of these entrenchments should remain in nearly a perfect state, is to be attributed to the gross superstition of the peasantry, who regard them as "Διονῶς" (haunted) places, inhabited by "sheoges," "good people" or fairies, and believe that some severe misfortune is sure to befall the person who meddles with them.

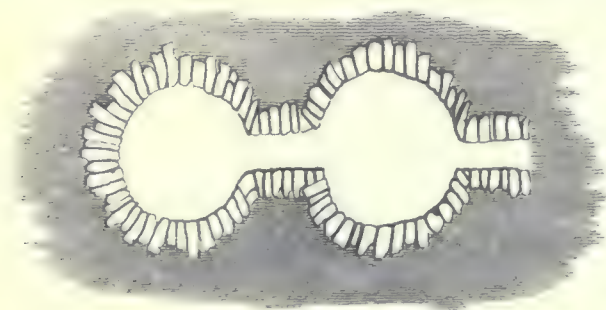
I beg to add the copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Newenham, containing some further particulars respecting the subterranean Chambers of the south of Ireland :

^c This conjecture is supported by the following passage in Tacitus, who describes a similar practice among the old Germans : "Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt : et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt." Cap. 16.

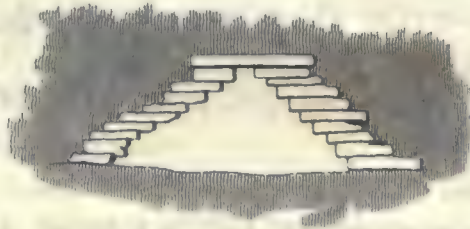
“ Since writing my last letter I have been exploring under-ground Chambers by the dozen, and find them, to my surprise, much more frequent than even we had imagined. My first dive was into one set



on the lands of Ball^{shendon}, within two miles of Fermoy, precisely similar in formation to those we examined near Carrigtohill. On coming out I gave my guide a couple of shillings, which so pleased his numerous friends, that they flocked round me, each offering to lead me to others; so that you would have thought the whole country resembled a bee-hive. I chose out a few of the most intelligent, and followed them. In the course of an hour I visited five sets, within a circuit of two miles, those on Mr. Joyce's farm



as well as a set at Kilcrumpher,



differ from the others in being built or lined with stone. We had candles and spades, so that every corner was explored, but no discovery made, except decayed bones and charcoal. The bones appeared to be those of the ox, but little remained except the joints. In the inner Chamber of those on Mr. Joyce's farm, I perceived a small square aperture, as if to admit air: it did not rise perpendicularly, but sloped upwards at an angle of about seventy degrees. A fourth excavation, near the third at Kilcrumpher, consisted of long galleries only; at least we could discover no Chambers. The fifth at Ballyhooly was too much choaked up to admit of examination. None of these were connected with ancient entrenchments or forts, though there appeared several in the immediate neighbourhood, and the remains of two cromlechs. There were also three natural caverns in which there were marks of fire.

“ Some of these excavations had been discovered forty years ago; others recently and accidentally. The country people say that they discover new chambers every year, all of the same shape and size. They are impressed with a belief that the Danes used them to hide in, when the Irish wished to drive these invaders out of the country. Finding the accounts given me of those I had visited so correct, and having ascertained that these Chambers were all so nearly alike, and that no-

thing was to be found in them, I did not think it worth while to visit more."

Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

your very humble servant,

T. CROFTON CROKER.

P. S. I have just received a Letter from Doone Glebe, in the county of Limerick, giving an account (which I regret is conveyed in such general terms) of the levelling of a "Danish Fort" in the neighbouring mountains, on some ground belonging to Mr. White. "About fourteen feet from the surface, in the centre of the Fort, a number of silver Coins were found, and a Spur of gold, which is said to be in Mr. White's possession. Several stone Jars were also discovered in subterranean Chambers, but they were all broken or lost by the falling in of the earth, except one, which Mr. White sent to Mr. Coote. This is of a light brown mottled stone-ware, highly ornamented, and a drawing of it, with the measurements, has been forwarded to the Gentleman's Magazine. One of the broken jars was described as "a beautiful royal purple Vase, resembling very fine China."

To NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

VII. *Account of some Architectural and Sculptural Remains at Pæstum ; with Observations on the reference the latter may bear to the Mythological History of that City : in a Letter from WILLIAM HOSKING, Esq. F.S.A. to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S., Treasurer.*

Read 14th January, 1830.

Furnival's Inn, January 7, 1830.

SIR,

THE accompanying Drawings are traced from sketches I made at Pæstum in the year 1824, when in pursuit of professional knowledge there ; they appear to me to possess a considerable degree of interest both architecturally and archæologically, and having lately heard a Paper read at one of the sittings of the Society of Antiquaries, when I was present as a visiter, on a somewhat similar subject, I am induced to submit them to their consideration, with a few remarks in explanation, and a few hints in the hope of elucidating them.

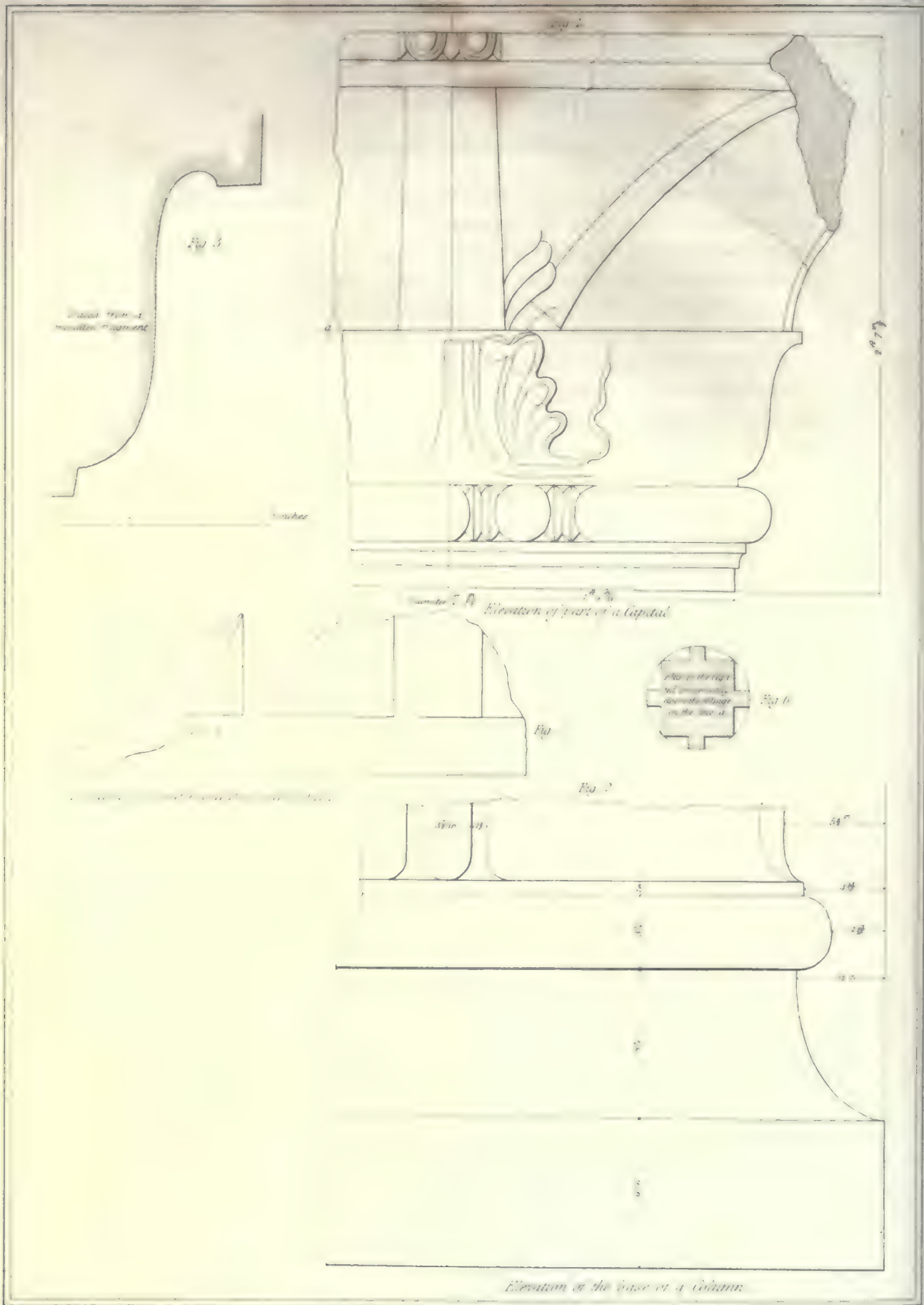
The western fronts of the three great edifices which give its greatest interest to Pæstum are nearly in a right line, which is parallel to, and about forty or fifty feet distant from, another, which may be drawn from the north to the south gates of the city. About half-way between the Temples of Ceres and Neptune, but nearer to the latter, and in the same line, there is a disjointed heap of ruins, consisting of fragments of a columnar structure of the material used in the Temples, which is the fossil conglomerate commonly called travertine stone. These are traditionally said to be the remains of a Temple of Peace, and the

tradition is believed to have arisen from some sculptures which were found amongst them, representing two hands conjoined. From indications, which I am not aware of, some have thought the site to be that of a theatre. The learned author of the "*Antiquities of Magna Græcia*," thus speaks of them: "A little to the west (of the Amphitheatre) is a confused heap of ruins, composed of broken entablatures, and other portions of an edifice of the Doric order of architecture. Several metopes and triglyphs are scattered among the ruins; the former are embellished with sculpture. The whole appears to have been the production of later times, and the capitals of some Corinthian pilasters found amongst the ruins, are of very rude workmanship. This building is supposed to have been formerly a Circus."

Without remembering that Mr. Wilkins had given this opinion of the remains in question, a consciousness of which might perhaps have deterred me from giving them any attention, I was attracted at the first sight by the very peculiar character of some of the superjacent fragments, and an examination of them led me to the belief that they were of Greek origin. My companion at the time being of the same opinion, we determined to excavate, to determine what the structure had been, and to discover, if possible, matter enough to make out its form and elevation; but, before we had proceeded far in our research, we learned that a great quantity of the materials had been removed from time to time, by the peasants, and broken up to mend the roads, and build their hovels with; and finding, moreover, that several of the more essential portions of an edifice, in an architectural point of view, were wanting, we relinquished our design, and turned to the examples which offered us present information and instruction.

Whilst we were engaged in the research, however, I turned up several fragments, which excited my curiosity so much, that I made the sketches of them, of which the accompanying are copies. Unfortunately they are very loose and imperfect, for I fancied at the time that very slight memoranda would suffice to bring the whole to my recollection, but it





is not so, and I must confess that I dare not trust myself to add a line to make any part more intelligible than it actually appears.

The sketch, Plate XI. Fig. 1, is of a singular foliated capital; that part of the drum, on which the leaves are wrought, follows the cylindrical form of the column, but immediately above them it assumes the form of which Fig. 6 is a plan; the dotted lines on the leaves show their profile; the abacus is so much broken, that it is impossible to say more of it, than that it appears to follow the ordinary form of the abaci of Corinthian capitals. Fig. 2 is the profile of a no less singular base, and, although I find that I omitted to take its diameter, I remember convincing myself that it belonged to the same columnar ordinance of which Fig. 1 is a capital; for portions of the shafts of columns, with corresponding flutes, of which there are twenty-four, are preserved, and readily connect them. Fig. 3, in the same Plate, is traced from a moulded fragment that was evidently a part of the same structure to which the rest belonged; it is of course the full size. Figures 4 and 5, are the profile and elevation of another moulded fragment, with a dentilled member, of similar appearance to the last.

The sketch Plate XII. Fig. 1, is of a portion of a Doric frieze, comprising a perfect metope, sculptured in low relief, and part of a triglyph. Fig. 2 is an outline of another metope, of corresponding form and size, a portion of the same frieze; having, however, drawn them from the originals on different leaves of the same book, I was thoughtless enough not to make them to the same scale; but to preserve, as much as possible, whatever degree of verisimilitude the original sketches possess, I have traced these copies, instead of copying them of the same size to make them appear to correspond.

These fragments excited our attention in the first place, as an architectural curiosity, from the heterogeneous connexion of the peculiar features of two different orders, as in the hybrid monument at Agrigentum, and on examination, I have said, we thought we saw reason to believe them to be of Greek origin. That the triglyphed frieze formed

part of the entablature of the foliated capital, with its shaft and base, does not admit of a doubt, for there are many portions of it on the spot besides those I have sketched, and there are many portions of Ionic or Corinthian fluted shafts, but no indications whatever of columns of the Doric guise; and, moreover, this frieze bears that proportion to those shafts which the Greeks might, from analogy, be supposed to make in such a case, as it is rather shallower than it would be to a Doric column; in non-accordance, too, with the custom in a Doric frieze, the metopes are not square, but oblong, to prevent the clustering of the columns, which would otherwise be the consequence of the smallness of their diameter. That the style of the frieze (without reference to the sculptures) is Greek, no architect would hesitate to decide, on giving it the slightest attention; if it be not Greek, it is either Roman, or of still later date. It is obviously not Roman, for the Romans never executed a Doric frieze, even in Greece, in the presence of its noblest works in that style, in which the head of the glyph, or channel, is not cut square, or at right angles to its vertical edges, as shown in Plate XI. Fig. 3, behind the profile of the triglyph; whilst in the Greek works it is as invariably curved, either by merely rounding the angles, by a flat segment, or by a semi-ellipsis, as this is, and as the same feature is executed in the Pæstan Doric monuments, which are of acknowledged Greek origin: works of later date than the Roman period are always found to possess the peculiarities of the Roman style, if of either; so that, if these are not of Roman origin, they are earlier, and consequently Greek.

Recurring to the Architectural Fragments; they appear to me to bear strong evidence of their Hellenic origin. The leaf of the capital is certainly not such as we are accustomed to see on pure Greek works; but Pæstum was a colony, and may have originated this variety, and it is as certainly not in the style of Roman works: the contour of the leaf, however, as shown in the profile, is the gracefully flowing cyma, in a manner peculiarly Greek, such as the Romans never formed, and the

dotted profile under the line, which tends to a volute, under the abacus, is of similar form. The carved bead is indisputably Greek, for the Romans always made the ball spheroidal, and in this it is a perfect sphere. The composition and contour of the base too, are much more Greek than Roman; so is the fragment with dentils, Plate XI. Fig. 5, and the moulding, Fig. 4, could no more be mistaken for Roman, than could a Greek Σ for a Latin S; it is, indeed, perfectly Greek. In addition to all this internal evidence, the fact that the ruins are of the material the place itself produces, almost amounts to a proof that they belonged to a Greek structure, for the Romans almost invariably employed foreign materials for columnar ordinances, even in their conquests and colonies, as may be seen on the lofty mount of Taormina in Sicily, at Syracuse, and in a hundred other places of the same kind; whereas the Greeks, I think I may say always, used those which were readiest.

But the sculptures on the Metopes appear to me even to exceed in interest the architectural character of the fragments, and would of themselves, without their connexion with the architecture, have determined me that they were the result of Greek art. My sketches are, I am aware, very imperfect representations, and so may not convey the impression which the originals give; for in style the sculpture is strikingly similar to that of the Ægina marbles. The fallen warrior, Plate XI. Fig. 1, naked, except the head, on which there appears to have been a helmet of Greek form, is almost a transcript of some part of those celebrated remains, and is totally unlike any thing of a similar nature in Roman works. This, being established, would take the date of these remains up nearly to that which is presumed of the Doric temples in the same place, and give greater interest to the group in the metope Fig. 2. It is very well known that the habitation of the fabulous Sirens of antiquity was on the coasts and islands of the gulph of Posidonia, or Pæstum, (now called, of Salerno,) where, from this it might appear, they were afterwards worshipped as tutelary divinities. They were feigned to have the form of the human female to the groin, and to

be fish below. Now in this metope a male and female, from opposite sides, approach a rude pillar, or altar, on which is seated a small rudely cut and mutilated female figure, with the semblance of a fish's tail in front, as if the lower parts of the body were ichthyomorphous, and each individual bears something on its head. May not this be the image of a Siren, used as one of the *Θεοὶ πάτρωες* of the Greeks, or *Penates* of the Romans? and, are not the figures those of votaries or worshippers bearing offerings to the divinity? If I am right in this conjecture, and if these sculptures are of the antiquity I contend for, two undetermined points in ancient mythology are settled by them; the one, that the Gulph of Salerno or Posidonia was the scene of action of the Sirens, and not the vicinity of Cape Pelorus in Sicily, as some of the Latin poets say; and the other, that they were sea-nymphs, because of the fish's tail, and not terrene monsters, with the lower part of the body like that of a bird; for neither do the ancient authorities agree on that point. On the key-stone of one of the arched gateways, in the Roman walls of Pæstum, a fish-formed Siren is sculptured, as in these metopes, proving that those beings were held in esteem even at that period; but I do not think any document of earlier date than that, has been known to exist, on which they are represented; nor are they generally supposed to have been revered as divinities.

As to what the structure may have been to which the remains in question belonged, I am not prepared to offer any suggestion. The frieze may have represented scenes during some siege of the city, the fallen warrior being one of the besiegers, the heap of stones before him indicating the walls; whilst the group may represent the propitiation of the divinity. The conjoined hands, on which the tradition of its being a temple of Peace rests, are certainly not in discordance with that view of the subject, as a temple may have been dedicated to the Peace which followed the contest that I suppose the frieze to have represented. For supposing it a theatre I could discover no reason whatever; and still less reason is there (there being strong evidence to the contrary)

Fig. 1

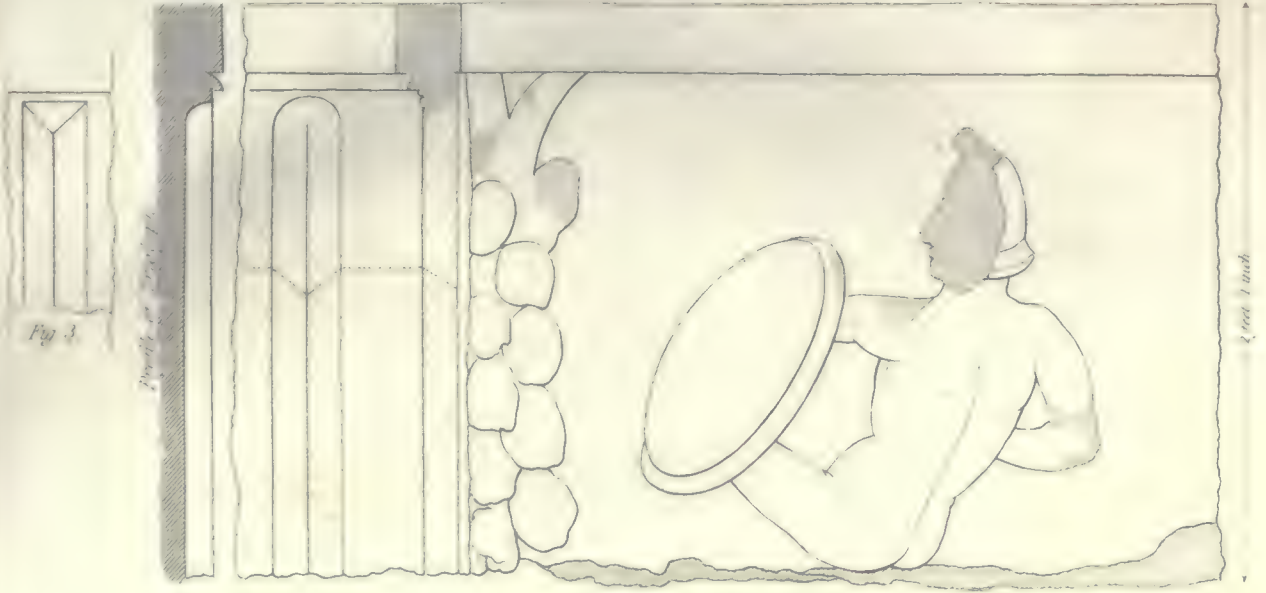
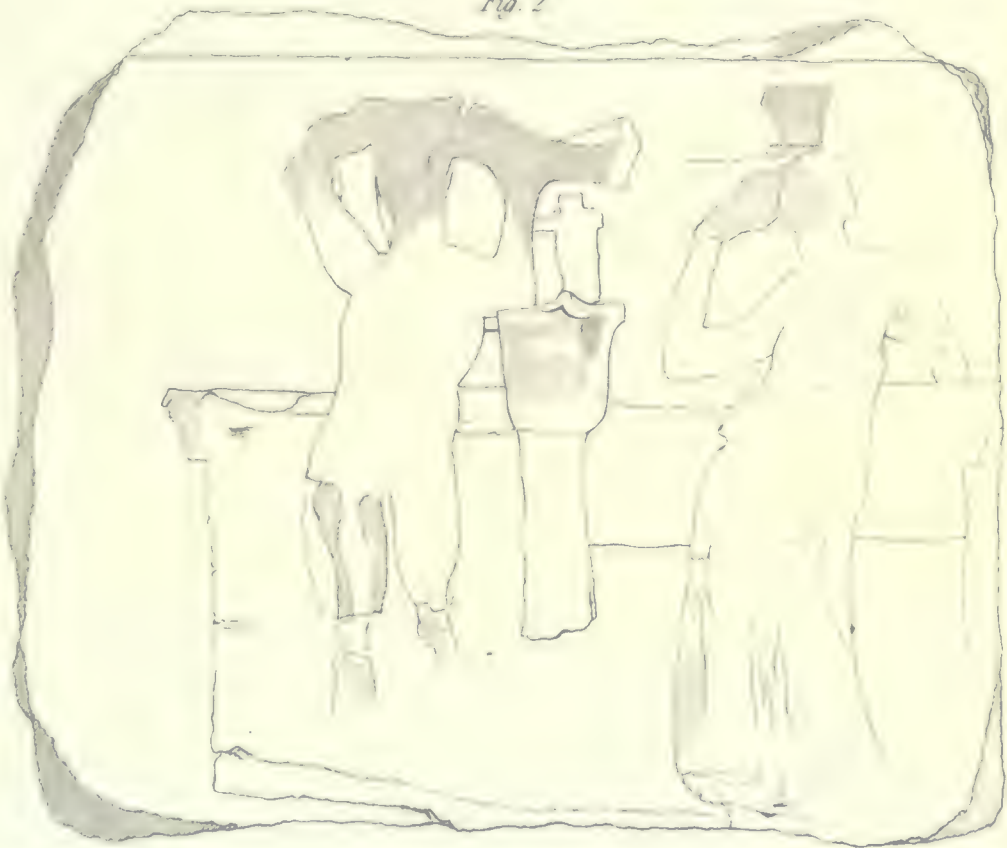


Fig. 2



Outlines of two Sculptured Medusae found at Paestum in May 1824.



for imagining with Mr. Wilkins, “ the whole to have been the production of later times ;” indeed, that gentleman’s description of the ruins is clearly the result of very superficial observation, and consequently his opinion of their merit cannot claim that respect which is accorded to his opinions generally.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM HOSKING.

To THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S.

Treasurer A. S. &c. &c. &c.

VIII. *Description of two antient British Shields, preserved in the Armoury at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire ; in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, from SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL.D. and F. S. A.*

Read 5th March, 1829.

20, Cadogan Place, February 23, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE two shields from the collection at Goodrich Court, which I have the honor to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries, are antient British, and termed in that language the *Tarian* and the *Ysgwyd* (pronounced *Usgooyd*). Before entering upon the separate description of each, I beg leave to observe that much information respecting the aborigines of this island is to be obtained from the names they gave to things and places. The latter are either descriptive or commemorative, but as not wanted for my present purpose I shall not trouble you with citing any instances; the former are either indigenous or derived from a foreign source, and attention to this distinction will render great assistance in the investigation of any British antiquities. Thus, for example, Cæsar states, (Bell. Gal. lib. v. c. xii.) that the houses of the Britons were similar to those of the Gauls, and these we learn from Strabo (lib. v.) and Diodorus Siculus (lib. v. c. viii.) were of wood, of a circular form, with lofty tapering roofs of straw. This simplicity of design we shall find corroborated by the language; for the house itself was called *Ty* (pronounced *Tee*), a word unlike *Domus*, *Ædes*, or any Roman term;

and its roof *Pen*, and other appellatives, not one of which has the least resemblance to Tectum, Fastigium, or Culmen. It may appear absurd to notice so obvious a fact as that there must have been an entrance to the house, but I do so because this was termed *Druws* (pronounced *Droos*), evidently not derived from Ostium, Portus, &c. Such was the rude building even of the chiefs on Cæsar's arrival, the doors serving also the purpose of a window. When that luxury was adopted from the Romans, its appellation accompanied it, hence every Welsh peasant still calls it *Fenestyr*. The Anglo-Saxon was further advanced in the knowledge of comfort. His dwelling had not only a-door, but a "wind-door" or aperture for air.

As the Britons had their places of worship long before the arrival of the Romans, there was no necessity for introducing the word Templum, *Llan* having the same meaning; but when, in later times, an edifice of a very different kind was wanted for the service of the Christian religion, they naturalized the term Ecclesia, pronouncing it in their idiom *Eglwys* (*Eglooy*s).

To come nearer to the subject before us. The inhabitants of this island, when it was first invaded, although possessed of arms, offensive and defensive, were totally unprovided with armour; but after they imitated their conquerors, (whose policy it was, as Tacitus observes, to instruct them in their arts,) and wore such protection, they called it *Llurig*, adapting, to their own mode of speaking, the word Lorica. Although the Gauls are described by Diodorus as wearing brazen helmets, Herodian and Xiphilin declare that the Britons had none. The representations on coins, which, though called British, have been by some good judges ascribed to the Gauls, are not, therefore, decisive proofs to the contrary, nor has this been controverted by any exhumation to be relied on. Adverting to that instructive guide, the language, the only British term we find is *Penwisg evydd*, a head-dress of brass, or *Penwisg dur*, a head-dress of steel; for the *Penfestin* of the Welsh laws, was the coiffe of mail, as the following passage from Gruffydd ab Arthur plainly demonstrates: *Taraw Arthur yn ei dal a*

wnaeth Frollo, a fei na rybylai y cleddyv ar vodrwiau y penfestin.
 “Strike Arthur on his forehead was what Frollo did, so that the sword was blunted on the rings of his coiffe.”

In the drawing that accompanies this, Fig. 1. is the exterior coating of a shield, such as used by the Britons before the Roman invasion, and such as they had been taught to manufacture by the Phœnicians; for when that people commenced trading with the Britannic isles the targets were of wicker work, in which the natives are said to have excelled, of a circular form, flat, and covered with a hide. The Tyrian merchants, anxious to show the islanders what advantages they might gain from commerce, did not only like Captain Cook, who ordered the armourer of his ship to fabricate in metal the tomahawks of the Taheiteans, but, as Governor Philips did in New South Wales with tin, put over their shields a thin coating of bronze. Weapons of this compound metal, exactly resembling those of bone and flint engraved in the XVth Volume of the *Archæologia*, are in my son's collection, as may be seen in Skelton's “Illustrations.”

We shall search in vain for any Roman appellative from which the British ones of *Tarian* and *Aes* could be derived, the former implying “the clasher,” from its coming in collision with an enemy in close conflict, the latter given from its being “flat.” The Roman *Parma*, *Clypeus*, or *Cetra*, although resembling its shape, were not the prototypes of this defence, and the following adage is probably of higher antiquity: *Car dy gymydaug, ond na ro iddo na'th gledd na'th darian.* “Love thy neighbour, but give him not thy sword nor thy target.” On examining the drawing it will be perceived that it was held at arm's length, and a handle with a concavity for that purpose is observable on the inside, while the latter forms the conical boss without. The Anglo-Saxon shield was used in the same manner, but the umbo was of iron, the rest being convex and of wood. Whoever takes the trouble diligently to read Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, and compare the result with the illustrations in the Anglo-Saxon MSS., will be convinced of this fact. So likewise will he find that all the weapons of

that people were of this same metal, its abundance on the coasts of the Baltic having made them acquainted with its properties before their settlement in England.

The ornament on this British Tarian consists of nineteen concentric circles, which, though the number of the lunar cycle, may or may not have an astronomic reference; and between are raised as many little knobs as the spaces admit. Now, on comparing it with a Highland target, we shall find that, although the Roman mode of putting it on the arm has been adopted by those mountaineers, the boss, thus rendered useless, is still retained, and the little knobs are imitated with brass nails. The drawing exhibits both the outside and interior, and in the latter may be perceived the rivet that held a thong, having a loop at its other end to put on a hook, when it was necessary to suspend it from the person.

This curiosity was found in a turbary called *Rhyd-y-gorse*, not far from Aberystwyth, in Cardiganshire, about five and twenty years ago, and was generously added to the collection of ancient arms at Goodrich Court, by Miss Probert, of Copthorne in Shropshire.^a

Fig. 2. is the exterior coating of another antient British shield, such as the Britons fabricated after they had been induced to imitate the Roman fashions. For, although Diodorus Siculus expressly assures us that the Gauls had long shields, of a size almost sufficient to cover those who used them, and varied only by some private insignia thereon, the Britons did not adopt this form from them. It was the Roman Scutum that served as their model, and hence they termed it *Y* (pronounced *E*) *Sgwyd* (*Sgooyd*) "the Sgooyd," afterwards corrupted into one word, *Ysgwyd* (pronounced *Usgooyd*). This very curious specimen is

^a Mrs. Newcombe, sister of the justly renowned Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, has kindly deposited in the armoury at Goodrich another similar specimen. It was found in the year 1784 in a peat moss at Moel Sinbod, near Capel Curig, Caernarvonshire. The only other one I have heard of was exhumated near Newcastle on Tyne, when the owner, wishing to gratify all his friends, cut it up like a cake and sent to each a slice.

formed of two sheets of brass joined in the centre, by that portion which forms its ornament and extends its whole length. It was held at arm's length, such is the force of habit, by a handle fitted into the groove made by the ornament, the gripe being guarded, as in the Tarian, with a convex boss. Now it may be objected that, had the Scutum formed the prototype, there would have been straps for the hand and arm. But the Britons could not easily alter a mode to which they had been long habituated, and as a recent instance of the force of custom I need only mention that the Greeks have pared down the butts of the English muskets they have received, in order to render them more like those of the Albanians, which are consequently without due counterpoise to the weight of the barrel. This shield appears to have been originally gilt; for, although Pliny informs us (lib. xxxiv. c. 8.) that the Romans had a method of staining such plates of copper as were used for crowns and chaplets worn on the stage by actors, and thence called *Æs coronarium*, with ox gall to resemble gold, this seems to me to be genuine, particularly as it was for some person of eminence. The practice continued, indeed, for a long time among the descendants of the Britons, for Taliesin about the year 540 says :

Aur vy ysgwydrwy.

"Gold is my shield border."

and Bleddyn Vardd in 1246, describes his hero as,

Aer ysgwn aur ysgwyd oedd.

"The stay of slaughter with a golden shield."

Fig. 3. shows the ornament of its full size,^b as it appears at each end.

Fig. 4. the umbo of its real dimensions.^b This has on it some pieces of red cornelian, common enough in this country, and fastened by brass pins. It is impossible to contemplate these artistic portions without

^b These have been since reduced in the engraving, but as a scale for the express purpose has been put on the plate, there will be no difficulty in ascertaining the magnitude.

Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.

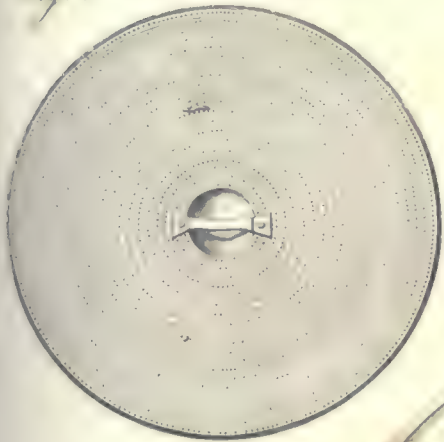
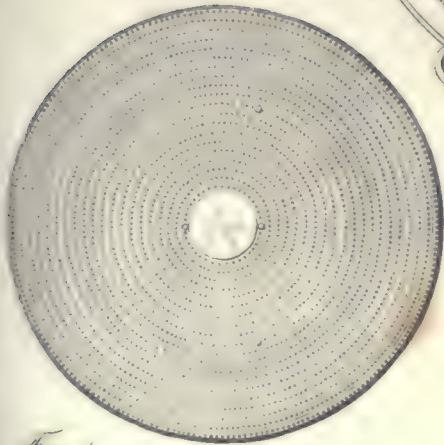


Fig. 2.

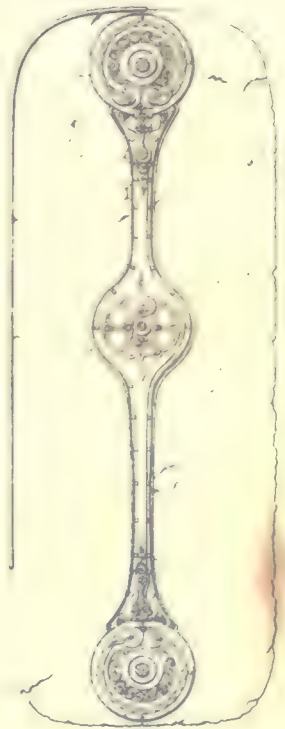
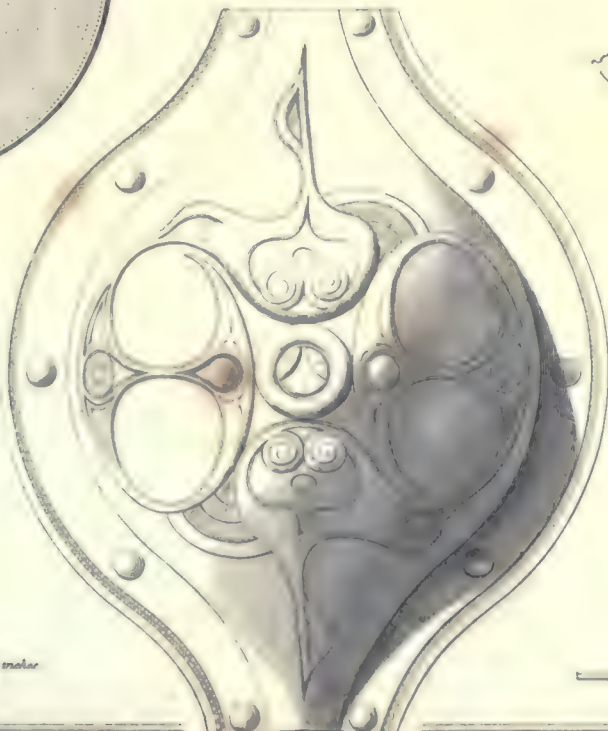
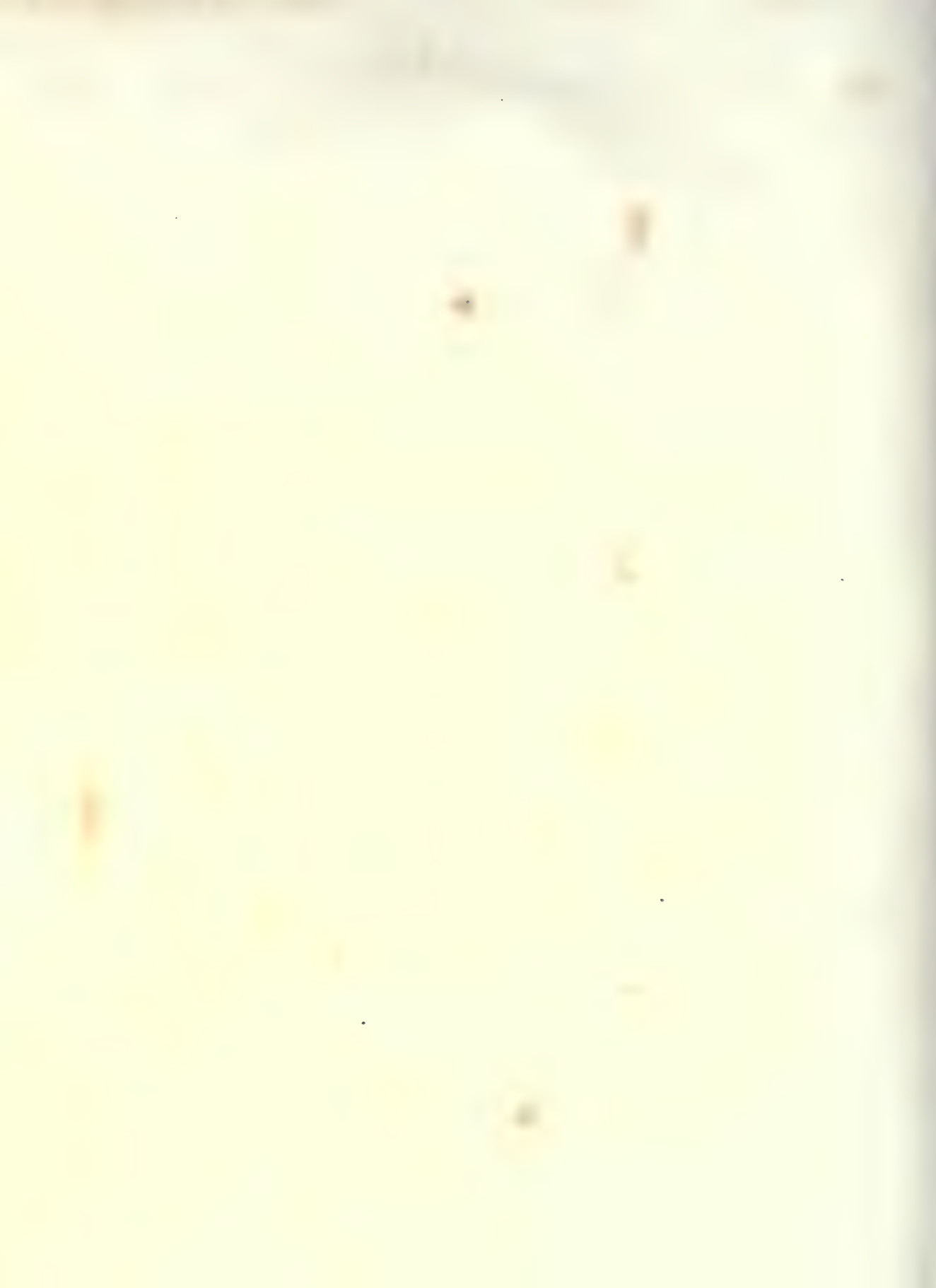


Fig. 4.



Scale to Fig. 1 & 2
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 inches

Scale to Fig. 3 & 4
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 inches



feeling convinced that there is a mixture of British ornament with such resemblances to the elegant designs on Roman work, as would be produced by a people in a less state of civilization.

This valuable, curious, and unique specimen was added to my son's collection through the energetic kindness of Earl Brownlow, and the liberality of its late possessor, the Rev. Humphrey W. Sibthorpe, of Washingborough, Lincolnshire, having been found, about two years ago, in the bed of the Witham, near his property.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
F. R. S. &c.

IX. *Account of an ancient Bath, in the Island of Lipari: in a Letter from Captain W. H. SMYTH, R. N., F. R. S., F. S. A., to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S., Treasurer S. A. with a Model.*

Read 14th January, 1830.

Bedford, January 3, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING recently heard that the luxuriant hand of nature is already verifying my fears, as to the very site of a highly interesting Bath, in the island of Lipari, becoming disputable, I feel it a duty to forward, for the Society of Antiquaries, the Model of this edifice, which I referred to in my description of that Country.^a

Many other vestiges, scattered throughout the insular empire of Æolus, tend to show the ancient importance of this assemblage of volcanoes. Greek inscriptions, mutilated sculptures, and empty sepulchres meet the eye in many parts; but chiefly the remains of baths of all ages, so valuable have the mineral springs constantly been esteemed.

We find hot baths cotemporary with the earliest dates: thus, besides the natural warm springs of Scamander, Homer makes Andromache provide a warm bath for Hector, on his return from the field; τὰ θερμα λουτρὰ are also ordered by Nestor; and Agamemnon is said to have been slain in a bath. Those of Dædalus still exist at Sciacca, in Sicily, and the same luxury is mentioned by Pindar; and it moreover appears that these establishments were held so sacred, that those who stole

^a See the Memoir of Sicily, p. 262.



W. G. Smith del.

Ancient Bath, in the Island of Lipari

James Ruston sc.



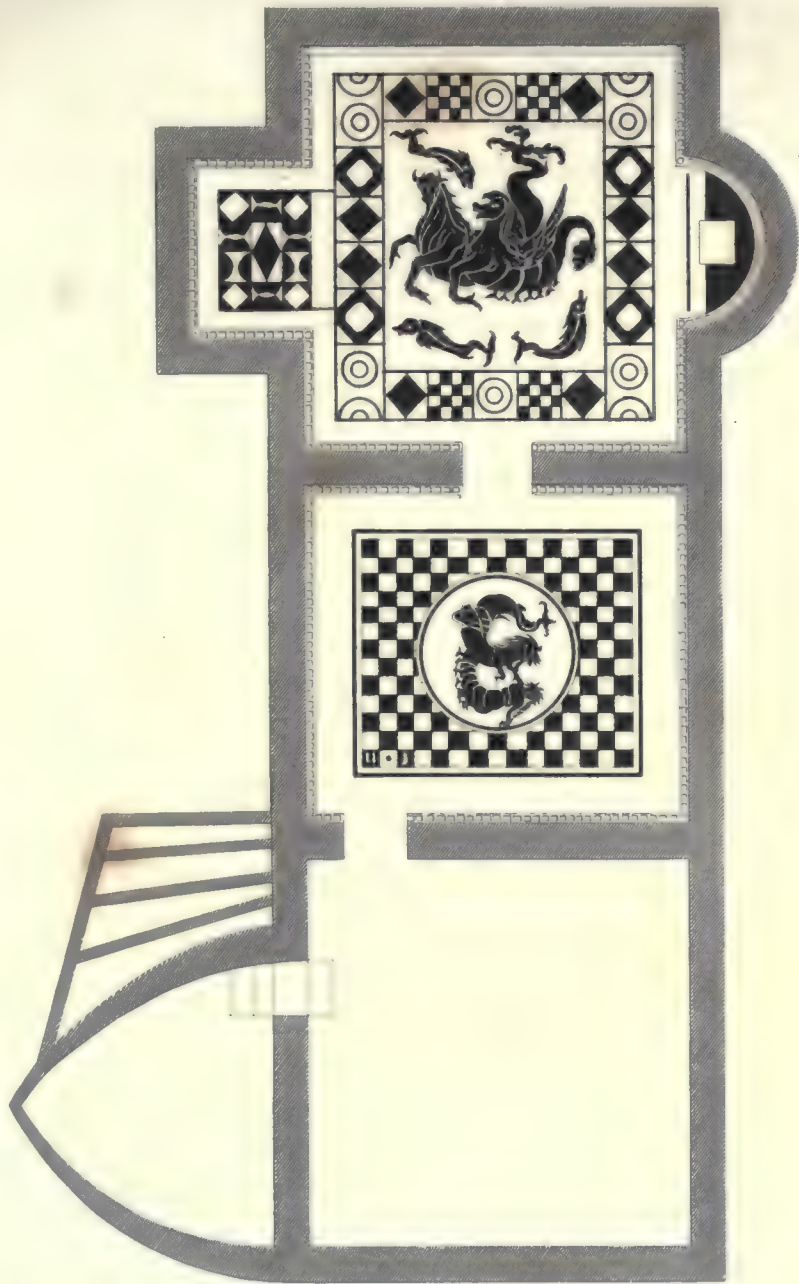
clothes or implements from them, were deemed sacriligious, were branded with a characteristic appellation, and were punished with death.

The more ancient Roman, like the present Turkish baths, were somewhat dark, having light admitted only from the roof; "for our ancestors," says Seneca, "thought that a bath could not be warm enough, unless it was close." From the vestiges of the magnificent baths of Paulus Æmilius, Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, together with the clear descriptions left by the younger Pliny, Lucian, and Vitruvius, we have an accurate idea of the disposition, grandeur, and plan, of these temples of luxury.

But the one I have now the pleasure of submitting, though remarkably fine, was evidently more for the purpose of health and rest, before and after worship, than for ostentation; for it boasts neither *Palæstræ*, *Exedræ*, *Xysti*, nor any of the other appurtenances of splendid *Thermæ*. It is merged in a luxuriant vineyard, at a short distance from the humble capital, and the stream that once supplied its wholesome gases, still rises in the vicinity, with a temperature of 120° of Farenheit; but it is now allowed to waste itself, and again sinking upon hot subterranean matter, probably soars in the form of vapour, through some of the many steaming crevices which are seen in various parts of the island. The remains of this edifice consisted, first, of an anti-room, or *ἀποδυτήριον*, where the bathers left their garments in the custody of the *Capsarii*, or slave guards. This led on the left, down three steep steps, into a water-bath, the *frigidarium*, or *tepidarium*, of Roman *Thermæ*, less delicately named *λουτρὸν* by the Greeks. Along one side of this bath there was a large receptacle, the *ἀλειπτήριον*, or *unctuarium*, divided into four long compartments, in which were found many small terra-cotta vases and glass vials, *ampullæ* and *lenticulæ*, which appeared to have contained oily substances, probably perfumes and ointments, in the use of which we know the ancients to have been profuse. By another door the anti-room led into the *media-cella*, a small square room, answering the purpose also of a *laconicum*, in this comparatively small establishment.

Here the bathers were accosted by the *Aliptæ* or *Unctores*, who, previous to anointing, rubbed them down with a horn or metal strigilis, or with a pumice-stone, like the one I now forward with the model, and which I took out of a tomb among the ruins of Oæa, near Tripoli. This *media-cella* has a coarse mosaic pavement, composed of black and white tesserae, distinctly describing two marine monsters in the middle, with circles and chequers around; one of these, at the entrance, bears the rude representation of a pair of slippers, seemingly to warn bathers from treading thereon barefooted. A door in the centre of the opposite wall leads into the *Θερμολουσία*, or *Concamerata-sudatio*, a larger room, because most resorted to: it is similarly tessellated, only with a more fanciful pattern, and, moreover, has a square recess on the left side, probably for the *Sudationes*; while a semicircular one on the right, contained the *baptisteria*, *piscina*, or large basin for the bathers. The walls of these two rooms are lined with vertical square clay tubes which communicate with the *hypocaust*, a hollow space beneath the floor, about two feet high, where a *propigneum*, or furnace, augmented the heat of the stream. The mosaic pavement, with its abundant cement, rests upon tiles two feet square, and nearly three inches thick; one angle of every four of these rests upon a small square pillar, consisting of twelve or fourteen bricks. The use of this diminutive colonnade is indicated by an opening at one end, for the admission of firewood and influx of the stream before alluded to; with a similar one at the other, for its exit. Unfortunately, no part of the roof of this singular structure remains, to show how the stream that ascended through the lateral tubes, or flues, was finally disposed of.

From its vicinity to the temple of Minerva, some have wildly imagined that this apartment was dedicated to the use of a Pythia, who, like the one at Delphi, was seated on a tripod to deliver oracles, aided by the inspiring fumes that rose around, from the tubes with which the walls were lined. This explanation, though natural enough for the patriotic fervour of local antiquaries, is not so amusingly absurd as that which pronounced it to have been a species of *Æolian*



Mosaic Pavement in the Media Cella of the ancient Bath at Lipari.



organ. This idea was probably founded on the tradition of there having been "a sepulchre in Lipari, which no one dared approach in the night, on account of the dissonant voices, horrible howlings, and discordant instruments, which resounded through its vicinity, producing a dreadful clamour:" or, in Coronelli's own forcible words, thus: "Scrisse Aristotele, ch'in quest' Isola vi era un Sepolcro, a cui niuno si poteva accostare di notte tempo, per le voci dissonanti, urli horribili, ed istromenti scordati, ch'in quelle vicinanze formavano uno strepitoso sconcerto d'Abisso."

On returning to Sicily, after visiting this fruitful source of fable, I had the good fortune to find some of my military friends excavating at the Faro Point, also adjacent to a temple, and rejoicing at having found some bronze antiques of good workmanship. One was a bust of Minerva about three inches high, but rather of the harsh character styled *conventional*; another was a lioness about four inches long, in a crouching position, exceedingly true to nature, but perfect only on one side, having a deep square aperture on the other. Amongst a number of indeterminable pieces, was a socket, seemingly intended for a very massive hinge to turn in. Within two feet only of the surface of the ground, they discovered some coarse black and white mosaic pavements, with a semicircular recess in one room, having its walls lined with tubes, which, communicating with a hollow space below, served, as in the Lipari bath, to impart the heat of the subterranean fire more equally to the bathers.

Again, I found exactly a similar construction, in the vestiges of some ancient baths at Catania; also in the immediate vicinity of a sacred temple. Indeed the constant appurtenance of *Thermæ* both to Greek and Roman Fanes, in *Magna Græcia*, is generally observable.

This kind of hot air and steam bath, closely resembles those used in the present day by the Turks, the marble pavements of which are so strongly heated, as to render it necessary for the bathers to wear high clogs, a practice which seems to be referred to by the mosaic slippers

figured at the threshold of the first hot room, or *media-cella*, in the Lipari Bath. When the quantity of steam is required to be increased, they have but to throw water from a large marble bath, standing in a recess of the room, and it immediately rises in vapour. Nor can the attentive observer fail to remark the modern succedaneum for the strigil, in a harsh camel's hair bag, with which the slave covers one hand, for the purpose of cleansing the skin of those upon whom they attend; whilst the unguents, and other treasures of the *unctuarium*, are emulated also by the variety of perfumed depilatory soaps and cosmetics still in use.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that the various details of the edifice in question, were accurately measured, and can be readily examined by the scale upon the model; but for a general idea of its magnitude, it can be borne in mind, that the whole inside length, over the floors, is seventy feet; the breadth at the *media-cella* thirty-three feet; and that at the *thermolousia* fifty feet.^b

I have the honour to remain,

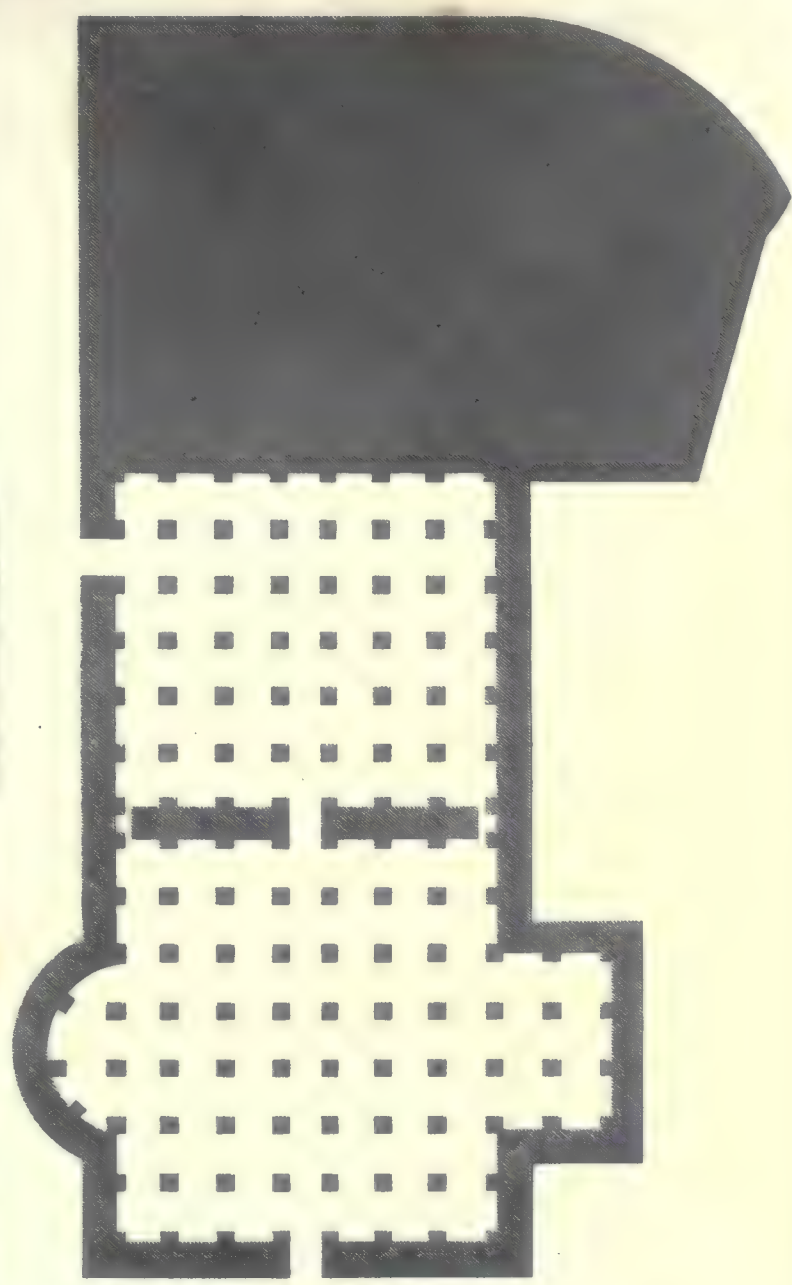
My dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

W. H. SMYTH.

TO THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S.
Treasurer A. S. &c. &c. &c.

^b Compare the Plates XIV. XV. XVI. taken from the Model.





X. *On the Viola of the Ancients ; by the LORD VISCOUNT MAHON.*

Read 18th March, 1830.

I SHALL attempt in this Paper to prove that the plant called *Viola* by the Romans, is not, according to the received opinion, our common Violet, but the flower called Iris, and well-known in our English gardens. This idea first occurred to me, when in the winter of 1825-1826 I travelled on horseback over the greater part of Sicily, and observed, that amongst the numerous wild flowers which that genial climate was already bringing forth at that season, there was no Violet to be seen, but, on the other hand, a great abundance of Iris ; and I have since been informed that such is likewise the case in southern Italy. This seemed to me to render it improbable, that a plant so common should have been unnoticed by the ancient pastoral poets, and that their strains should be devoted to one apparently of foreign origin, of later introduction, and of less general growth.

This presumption will, I think, be confirmed by a consideration of the following passages :

In the description of the *Viola* by Pliny,^a several circumstances are quite inapplicable to the Violet, but agree exactly with the Iris.

1. He mentions *Violæ luteæ* amongst other sorts. Now there are no violets of this colour, but although the common Iris is dark blue, seve-

^a Hist. Nat. lib. xxi, c. 6.

ral of its species are yellow, such as the *Iris lutescens*, and the *Iris lurida*, which grows naturally in the south of Europe.

2. *Sponte, apricis et macris locis proveniunt.* This is true of the *Iris*, which I observed in Sicily, commonly growing wild on the rocky hills, exposed to the sun; but this is not true of the *Violet*, which is proverbial for loving the shade.

3. *Statim ab radice carnosio exeunt.* The *Iris* has a bulbous root, appearing out of the ground, so that the adverb *statim* is peculiarly true of this plant as distinguished from the tulip, crocus, &c. The root of the *Violet* is fibrous.

A passage in Ovid^b seems to me still more decisive :

“ *Ut si quis violas, riguove papaver in horto,
Liliaque infringat, fulvis hærentia virgis,
Marcida demittant subito caput illa gravatum;
Nec se sustineant, spectentque cacumine terram.*”

Any one must observe how completely inapplicable this description is to the *Violet*, whose flower all but touches the ground and cannot therefore, if broken, exhibit the “*demittant caput . . . spectentque cacumine terram.*” The *Iris*, on the contrary, is of nearly the same height as lilies and poppies, and having, like these, a tall and naked stem, displays, when broken, the same appearance that they do, and justifies the poet in classing them together.

I should add, that amongst the country people of Sicily the *Iris* still bears the name of *Viola*.

^b Met. lib. x. v. 190.

XI. *Disquisition on the Member in Architecture, called an Oriel. In a Letter from WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F.S.A., to JOHN BRITTON, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 25th March, 1830.

Highgate, near Birmingham, March 20, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

I ENCLOSE for your perusal, and if you think proper for that of the Society of Antiquaries, a Disquisition on the member of Architecture called an ORIEL, wherein you will find the evidence on that obscure subject classified in a novel manner, and at least a plausible etymology suggested; though, to use the words of Lambarde, "contentinge my selfe to intermedle myne own opinion simplie, without eyther prejudice of any other man's that shall judge otherwise, or pertinacitie in myne owne when I shall hear a better."^a

I am,

Yours very faithfully,

WILLIAM HAMPER.

To JOHN BRITTON, Esq. F. S. A.

^a Dict. Angl. Topogr. p. 254.

Oriel is a term applied, in the middle ages, to the various objects enumerated in the following classes :

- I. A Pent-house.
- II. A Porch, attached to any edifice.
- III. A detached Gate-house.
- IV. An Upper Story.
- V. A Loft.
- VI. A Gallery for Minstrels.

It will be convenient to examine each of these in rotation.

First, then, as a PENT-HOUSE.

Appenticiæ was an ancient word for supplemental buildings. "Ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiæ *appenticiis* circumcinxit." ^b Appendages, penticies, or (as we have now vitiated the word) pent-houses.^c Thus, in the Wardrobe Account 28 Edw. I. we find a charge "pro quoddam *appenticio* extra cameram Regine," ^d and among the repairs of Stafford Castle 30 Hen. VI. for the mending "unius *pentey*s supra gradus inferioris garrett' ibidem." ^e Correspondent with these is a payment 35 Hen. VI. to a carpenter hired to make a new *Oriell* over the cellar-door of the Mansion-house at Macclesfield: "Sol' Thome Grene Carpenter' conduct' ad faciend' unum novum *ORIELL* supra Hostium Selar' ibidem, iij^s. iiij^d." ^f and at Stafford Castle 8 Edw. IV. for "erigenc' *le Hovell* super *le Wyneseler*." ^g It is a vulgar error that our forefathers merely bought their wines from the apothecary, as medicine; and it is evident from these entries they were careful to keep their cellars at a proper temperature, that the "liquid ruby" might emit its enlivening beams in full perfection.

It is recorded of a man at Shrewsbury, who died A. D. 1424, 2 Hen.

^b Twysden Script. X. 290.

^c Whitaker's Cath. of Cornwall, vol. i, p. 138.

^d P. 54.

^e Roll in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

VI. that "he laft behynde hym a doughter of his, namyd Blase Tuptun, who cam by chance to be a leeper, and made *the Oryell which goythe allong the west side of the sayde churchyarde* [of St. Chad's] throughe which she cam aloft to heare serveys, throughe a doore made in the church wale, and so passyd usually uppon the leades unto a glasse wyndowe, throughe which she dayly sawe and hard dayly serveys as longe as shee lyvyd."^h Our late learned member, Mr. Blakeway, in commenting on this extract, after observing, that "there is no one term in our antiquarian language, about which it is so difficult to obtain a clear understanding, as the Oriel," conjectures that this unfortunate lady, who, shunned by all her kind, must have found consolation in the offices of devotion, "caused an Oriel Chamber, with a window slightly projecting, to be built for her on the leads of St. Chad's church, and that the chronicler, after the lapse of a century and a half, had *erroneously* given the name of the *room*, to the *passage* by which it was approached."ⁱ My lamented friend in this conjecture has not evinced his accustomed sagacity, for it seems most clear that the poor leper approached the church under an extended *Pent-house*, or *Lean-to*. I use the last-named Old English word, as I find it very appositely mentioned in the repairs of Okeham Castle 39 Hen. VI. viz. "emend' unius *Lenetoo* juxta parlur' annex' Magn' Aule," and a wall-plate bought "pro j *Lenetoo* inde emendand' inter Aulam et Capellam Castri predicti."^k

Carpentier, in his *Glossarium Novum*, in addition to Ducange, under the word *Oriolum*, cites a deed, A. D. 1338, as follows: "Nous avons donné congie et licence à Massieu Jehan, bourgeois de la ville de Harefleu, de fair un *Oriol* en la ditte ville, entre le manoir du dit Massieu ouquel il demeure à present, . . . et le manoir qui est audit Massieu, qui est à l'opposite d' y celui manoir." This, if I correctly

^h Blakeway and Owen's *Shrewsbury*, vol. ii. p. 257. The conjecture in the text appears to have been relinquished, or modified, in p. 537.

ⁱ *Ibid.*

^k Roll in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford.

understand the phraseology of the document, must mean permission given to erect a Pent-house, or some kind of covered-way, between two dwellings on opposite sides of the street.

Secondly, as a PORCH, attached to any edifice.

The Pipe Roll of 18 Hen. III. A. D. 1234, gives the charge expended "in quadam Capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput [meaning probably on the top of] *Orioli* camere Regis in castro Herefordie, de longitudine xx pedum."

The position of the Oriel itself is plainly declared, in an entry of the following year, on the same Record, though relating to another Castle; "in uno magno *Oriollo* pulchro et competenti, *ante ostium* magne camere Regis castro de Kenilworth faciendo, vi^l. xvi^s. iv^d.;" which Dugdale, from thinking of the classical word *Horiola*, interpreted by "a fair and beautifull *boat* to lye near the dore of the King's great chamber."¹

In an undated deed of partition among coheirs of a tenement called Le Westhalle in Southampton, the share assigned to Thomas le Halveknyzt is "Petrinum cum celario subjacente, cum quâdam camerâ quæ vocatur *La Criole* [no doubt a misreading or misprint for *La Oriole*] quæ est supra portam prædictam,"^m i. e. the Magna Porta mentioned in a previous share.

Oriel College in Oxford was first founded, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, by King Edward II., but Edward III. bestowing on the Provost and Fellows, or Scholars, "a large messuage, then commonly called and written *La Oriole*," the community removed to it, leaving their old habitation of Tackley's Inn, afterwards Bulkley Hall.ⁿ This "large messuage" must have been distinguished by some stately porch, or vestibule, of consequence sufficient to give an appellation to the entire edifice.

¹ Warwicksh. p. 161.

^m Madox, Formulæ, clxiii.

ⁿ Wood's Oxford, by Gutch, pp. 123, 124.

Fuller, in his Church History, speaking of the *Oriolium* or *Oriol*, as a room in an abbey, says : “ Why so called, some of the name-sake Colledge in Oxford are best able to satisfie. Sure I am, that small excursion out of Gentlemen’s Halls in Dorsetshire (respect it East or West) is commonly called an Orial.”^o A dignified member of the said “ name-sake college,” in an elegant essay on the subject printed in Skelton’s *Oxonia Antiqua Illustrata*,^p endeavours to derive the term from *Os*, *ORIS*, conceiving the etymology to be the same with that of *OSTIUM*, and observes, that Fuller’s expression, “ respect it *east* or west,” refers to an erroneous etymology sometimes suggested from *Oriens*, with which the word certainly has no connection.” Without any impeachment of the writer’s great talents and learning, I may remark that he is clearly wrong in thinking that the prefix *le* necessarily betokens that the following word is a *French* one : “ *Le Oriole*, or *la Oriole*, (he says) is merely the French form of *Oriolum*.” Any old Court Roll would prove the contrary. Take two instances from a copy of one now before me : 30 Henry VIII., “ vastum domini de *le Cordok* infra dominium de Stretton,” co. Salop. Cordok is the name of a hill, called by modern map-makers Caradoc, and supposed to have I know not what affinity with Caractacus ! At any rate it is no French word, and most likely is a Welsh one. Again, 3 Elizabeth : “ Villata queritur quod L. B. erectavit unum *le Styte* super Longmynd.” In fact, whenever the scribe of a Roll, or Deed, was at a loss for a corresponding Latin word, he retained the English one, placing *le* or *la* before it. In the commencement of my present remarks, besides others *passim*, will be found “ *le Hovell*,” and “ *le Wyneseler*.”

“ The legend of the Earl of Tolous,” in Ritson’s Metrical Romances, shows the application of Oriel to a *Chapel Porch* ; by the side of which an anxious lover is enjoined to watch, that he may see a lady fair, as she enters to perform her devotions :

^o Book vi. sect. 2.

^p Vol. ii. plate 144.

“ When ye here the Mas-belle,
 Y schall hur brynge to the Chapelle,
 Thedur sche schall be broght.
 Be the *Oryall* syde stonde thou styлле,
 Then schalt thou see hur at thy wylle,
 That ys so worthyly wrought.”

There is a fine specimen of the Oriel, or *vestibulum*, at the west end of Snettesham Church, co. Norfolk.^q Indeed, the magnificent arcade, in the same situation, at Peterborough Cathedral, may be termed an Oriel, and justly placed at the head of this class.

I shall now produce an instance of the Oriel applied to *the Porch of a dwelling-house*, of a very humble description, from the account-book of the Trinity Guild at Coventry, 37 Henry VI. “Item, Thome Broun pro dawbyng unius muri voc’ a Frenche walle, et pro floryng unius dimid’ bay, et pro dawbyng unius *Oryall*, et pro underpynnyng unius scanni novi, ad ten’ in quo Will’s Adcok manet, iij^s. vij^d.”

In the extract from the Pipe Roll relative to Hereford Castle, 18 Henry III. we have seen that a room was built upon the Oriel for a *Chapel*, and it is most probable that such an apartment, jutting over the Porch of a Mansion, and connected with the Great Chamber, would often be fitted up as an Oratory, as Mr. Dallaway observes in his *Essay on English Architecture*.^r To separate it from secular uses, as well as to afford convenient hearing and sight to such of the domestics as could not be accommodated within such a limited space, but were allowed to attend in the adjoining room; an open screen would in such cases form the separation. This seems to be what the *Lexicon Anglo-Latini*, A. D. 1440, means, when it explains the “*Oryel of a wyndowe*,” by “*Cancellus*.”^s

^q Parkin's Norfolk, vol. x. p. 377, and plate.

^s Harl. MS. 221.

^r P. 89, and note.

Sometimes, however, the upper story of the porch was used as a *BOUDOIR*. This is evident from a passage in "The Squyr of lowe degre," in Ritson's *Metrical Romances* :

" In her *Oryall* there she was
Closed well with royall glas.
Anone that Lady fayre and fre
Undid a pynne of yverè,
And wyd the windowes she open set,
The sunne shone in at her closet."

When we read of *Oriel Chambers*, I conceive them not to have been what may be called the Oriel proper; but the larger apartment to which the Oriel (either open, or closed by a screen or door,) was an appendage.

Thus, in " *Ordinatio pro victu Fratris Johannis Asheli dudum Prioris de Daventre, A. D. 1420, habeat cameram quandam in eodem Prioratu vulgariter appellatam by Oryal;*"^t and, beyond the shadow of a doubt, in the item cited by Warton from the computus of Maxstoke Priory, A. D. 1447, where wine is said to have been bestowed on the company, when Sir Symon Montford's fool exhibited his merriments, "*in camera Orioli.*"^u

Warton is nearly correct when explaining this class of the Oriel (not the Oriel Chamber) by "a recess in a chamber or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom,"^x but his "learned correspondent" did not solve the puzzle of etymologists, by suggesting that "Oriel is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea.*"^y

The decorated screen at the entrance of the dining-room in Broughton Castle, engraved in Skelton's Oxfordshire, is perhaps an illustration of the Oriel, as applied *within* a mansion. Something of a similar kind,

^t Manley, in his edition of Cowel's *Interpreter*.

^u *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 346.

^x *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 175.

^y *Ibid.* *Emend.*

though of much ruder design and workmanship, may have been intended by the word *Tresaunce*, in the repairs of a chamber at the Manor-house of Thornbury, 23 Richard II., when two sawyers were employed to cut timber, “pro le *Tresaunce* ad hostium dicte camere.”^z The same term is used by William de Worcestre, in detailing the various parts of Wokey-hole, the great Somersetshire cavern: “est quædam lata aqua inter le *Tresance* et Aulam.”^a

Thirdly, as a detached GATE-HOUSE.

From Matthew Paris we learn, that on a reformation of abuses in the Abbey of St. Alban's, A. D. 1251, the Abbot promised to give up his allowance and pittances, unless (instead of taking them to his own chamber, as before), “in Refectorio, vel *Oriolo*, cum sociis suis pranderet;” the former, it is scarcely needful to remark, being the usual eating-room of the brethren, and the latter the place where invalids, who were not so ill as to require admission into the infirmary, resorted, “in *Oriolo* carnem comederent:” which, in another passage of the same author, is said to be “atrium nobilissimum in introitu, quod Porticus, vel *Oriolum*, appellatur.”^b “The use hereof is known for Monks (says honest Fuller, with his characteristic quaintness,) who were in *latitudine* morbi, rather distempered than diseased, to dine therein, it being cruelty to thrust such into the Infirmarie, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.”^c May we not presume that this was a *Gate-house*, with a room over it, detached from the principal buildings of the abbey?

Somner describes an ancient edifice, adjoining the Porter's Gate of the Cathedral precincts at Canterbury, “in some of the Church Records, called “*Oriall*,” strangely enough corrupted into *Hog-Hall*! After remarking that the latter name is “haply rather to be derived from *hog*, signifying high or mounted, because of the high and lofty

^z Roll in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford.

^a Ed. Nasmyth, p. 288.

^b Matth. Paris, ed. Wats. pp. 713, 1044, 1071.

^c Church Hist. B. iv. sect. 2.

site and posture of it, than, as some dreame, from the dressing of hogs sometime in the undercroft of it, a use for which it were absurd to thinke it built;” he adds, in reference to the former appellation, “whether from the same originall with *Oriall* Colledge in Oxford, which name some conceive to be a corruption of *Aul-royall*, I leave to other men’s judgements.”^d

Fourthly, as an UPPER-STORY.

William de Worcestre in his description of a castellated Manor-house erected at Howndesdon in Hertfordshire, about 26 Henry VI., after mentioning a Tower of four equilateral sides, says: “Item, altitudo dictæ turris, cum *le ovyrstorye* vocat’ *an Oriell*, cum fenestris et vanys deauratis, est ut dicitur a fundamento dictæ turris ultra C pedes.”^e

Fifthly, as a LOFT.

The Mansion-house at Macclesfield underwent some repairs in 27 Henry VI. Among the charges is eightpence for two days’ work of a man employed in felling timber, also fourteen-pence for two sawyers sawing the same one day: “pro sperres, post’, et gradubus, de eisdem fiend’ pro uno *Oriell* supra Stabulam ibidem.”^f This could have been neither more nor less than a *Hay-loft*.

Sixthly, as a GALLERY FOR MINSTRELS.

In the repairs of Maxstoke Castle, 30 Henry VI., when the Lord’s Parlour, and the Lady’s Closet, near the Chapel, were built anew, certain nails, of various sizes, were bought: “pro novo *Oreyell* pro *Trum-petes* Domini in Aula ibidem.”^g

So far of Oriels. A few remarks on *Oriel Windows* may now be permitted.

^d Antiq. of Canterb. p. 205.

^e Ed. Nasmith, p. 89.

^f Roll in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford.

^g Ibid.

Mr. Nares, in his Glossary, after stating that the word Oriel is supposed by some to be a diminutive of *Area*, or *Areola*, says: "In modern writings we meet with mention of *Oriel Windows*. I doubt the propriety of the expression (he continues); but, if right, they must mean those windows that project like a porch or small room. I may be wrong in my notion of Oriel Window, but I have not met with ancient authority for that expression."

Dr. Milner calls it "a feature in the last and worst state of what is called Gothic, and different from a Bow Window as it well can be, the latter being the segment of a circle, whilst the former is made up of angles or straight lines; being generally the half of a pentagon, hectagon, or octagon."^h

Both these learned writers entertained correct views of the subject. Mr. Nares's conjectural definition points to the origin of the term, while I can add my testimony to its not appearing in the writings of ancient days, since, after no little trouble in pursuit of the fact, I have never met with *Oriel Window*, and only once with *the Oriel of a Window*, already quoted under the second class in this disquisition. Dr. Milner's distinction between that and the Bow Window is undeniable, though I am inclined to think that the Bow Window was usually called a *Compass*, or *Embowed* one.

It is clear from Leland's Itinerary, that the "mervelus fair *cumpacid* windoes," at Nottingham Castle, were formed by the segment of a circle, for afterwards *round* windows of timber were erected upon them, "to the proportion of the aforesaid wyndoes of stone."ⁱ Lord Bacon says: "for *embowed* windows, I hold them of good use, for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and, besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost through the room, doth scarce pass the window."^k

I am likewise disposed to believe that the Oriel or Balcony Window was more generally known under the denomination of the *Bay*

^h Hist. of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 283.

ⁱ Vol. i. p. 107.

^k Essay, of Building.

Window, the *Shot Window*, or the *Outcast Window*. For the first, I refer to Nares's Glossary.

Burton mentions an "*outcast window* in the Hall" at Falde, co. Stafford;¹ and Chaucer sings, that Absolon, the gay Parish Clerk,

" A litel after the cockes had ycrow,
Dressed him up by a *shot window*,
That was upon the carpentere's wal."^m

Mr. Tyrwhitt, it is true, supposes our poet to have meant "a window that was *shut*;" but, with all deference to his great critical acumen, I cannot help thinking otherwise.

"The Oriel Window (observes Mr. Carterⁿ), may perhaps have some affinity to those chambers called the *Bowers*, or as we call them now, closets, or cabinets. Of Bowers (he adds) take the following lines from an old song:

' Lady Annis she sate in her bower window,
A knitting of her night coif,' &c."

But that enthusiastic investigator of our English Architecture does not offer an opinion on what I shall next bring into notice, viz. *the Etymology of the word Oriel*.

After so many writers have sent their donations to "*the almsbasket of words*,"^o on this very doubtful subject, several of whom I have not here glanced at, and Ducange himself confessing that "*vocis etymon non agnosco*," it may seem presumptuous to add another conjecture; but, on the principle of a well-known rule in the science of numbers, that mere assumed data may be brought to bear in deducing a correct solution, I shall hope to be excused for offering *my* scrap, in aid of the general fund.

¹ Nichols' Leic. vol. iv. part ii. p. 646, note.

^m Millere's Tale, v. 3357.

ⁿ Gent. Mag. March, 1799, p. 191.

^o Love's Labour Lost.

Considering the primary use of Oriel to have been in the sense of a Pent-house, or covered-way, may it not be derived from the Saxon *open-helan*, i. e. *tegere*? *Over-hele*, by elision *O'er-hele*, is an established English word, meaning *to cover over*, and is illustrated in Johnson's Dictionary (Ed. Todd,) by the following passage from Ben Jonson's *Masques at Court* :

“Thy rude voice, that doth so hoarsely blow,
Thy hair, thy beard, thy wings, *o'erhel'd* with snow.”

Transmuted, by the usual process, into the Latin of the middle ages, *O'er-hele*, the noun, would readily become *Orielum*; or, still preserving its parental features, take a slight change in passing through other languages.

XII. *Observations on the mode of Construction of the present old London Bridge, as discovered in the years 1826 and 1827: In a Letter from WILLIAM KNIGHT, Esq., to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S., Secretary.*

Read 18th March, 1830.

London Bridge Works, March 16, 1830.

SIR,

DURING the execution of the works of the new London Bridge, it became necessary to relieve the water-way of the River by the removal of two of the starlings and piers of the old structure, in consequence of the obstruction to the current by the erection of the cofferdams for the new works; in effecting this object, a practical opportunity presented itself of ascertaining the mode in which the piers of the original old Bridge were built. This subject having created much professional speculation, led me to preserve documents at the different stages of the work, that would enable me to form a judgment as to the manner in which our predecessors originally executed works of this nature, and I beg leave to have the honour of laying the result of my observations before the Society of Antiquaries.

In June 1826, the removal of the fifth south pier, starling, and two of the arches commenced.^a This was effected by first inclosing one half the roadway of the old Bridge during the night, in order that the public thoroughfare might be impeded as little as possible. Upon removing the upper part of the work, such as the ballustrades, spandril walls, &c. for about fourteen feet inwards from the west (which proved

^a See Plate XVII.

to be additions made in the year 1756), the original old work was discovered to be as near the center of the present Bridge as possible, and measured twenty feet, which at the period it was built, in 1176, according to Stow's authority, was its original width.^b

The arches on each side of the pier were of the Pointed kind, commonly termed Gothic, and consisted of two rings of stones of small dimensions, the external soffit being fire-stone, very similar to the Merstham-stone in Surrey, and executed agreeably to the accompanying section. The upper ring was of a harder substance, and resembled the Caen Norman-stone.

Upon opening the interior of the pier, the external walls, exposed to the water, consisted of a casing of ashlar masonry, chiefly of Kentish rag-stone, in courses of about three feet four inches long, and three feet; one foot deep; and nine inches to one foot in the bed. These were cramped together with iron cramps, run with lead, and the joints and beds of this masonry were cemented with a composition of pitch and rosin.

The inside of the pier was filled with a quantity of loose stones, chiefly Kentish rag and flint, below the level of high water, but above it were large chalk-stones and fire-stone, filled in with lime, evidently used in a liquid state, and so compact was this mass of material that it was with much difficulty separated.

The original foundation of the old Bridge appears to have been laid at low water, as the heads of the small piles were a little above that level; they were chiefly of elm, and driven in three rows all round the sides and ends of the piers, about six or seven feet deep, and ten inches square upon an average; between these piles, a quantity of loose rubble stones were laid without cement, and upon this were bedded three strong oak sleepers, about twenty-one inches wide, and nine inches thick, as described in the plan. This timber was perfectly sound, after the lapse of now above six centuries and a half, and proves a strong practical instance of the preservation of wood under water, when unexposed to the action of the air.

^b See Plate XVIII.

West Front

Roofline

H. W.

1

Small House 1840

General View of the West Front of the Old London Bridge

General View of the West Front of the Old London Bridge
The bridge is shown in the foreground, with the river in the background.
The bridge is a stone arch bridge, and the river is the River Thames.
The bridge is shown in a perspective view, and the river is shown in a perspective view.
The bridge is shown in a perspective view, and the river is shown in a perspective view.
The bridge is shown in a perspective view, and the river is shown in a perspective view.





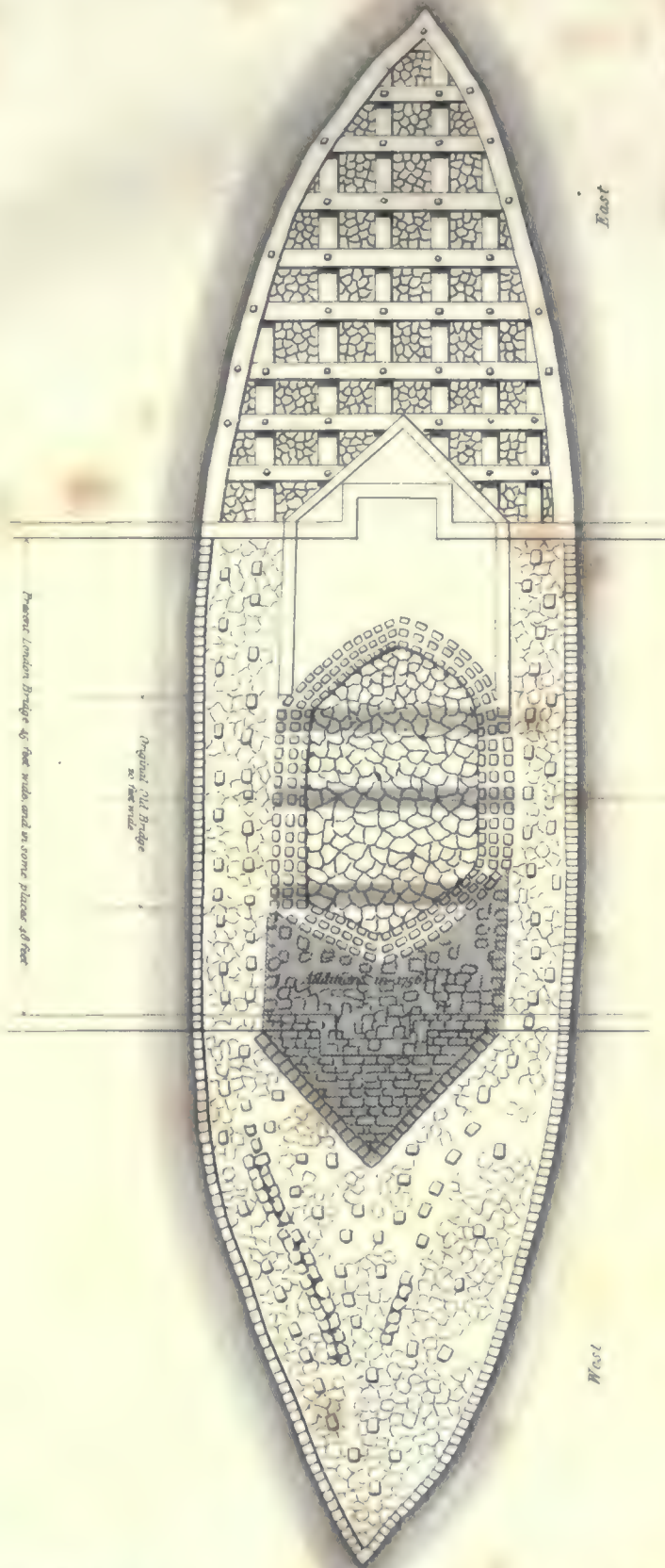
Drawn by William Knight Archer

Engraved by James Bouverie

Part of Old London Bridge as it appeared in June 1826.
 showing the situation of the original structure as built in the year 1176 with the additions &c.
 A.A. Situation of the original structure, date 1176 B.B. Addition made in the year 1729 C. The Engine House D. The Old Stabling & Pier removed in 1826.

Published by the Messrs. at Antiquaries of London, April 24th 1830





Scale of 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 feet

Measured & Drawn by W. Knight, Arch^t

W. Knight del.

Plan of a Starling and Foundations of a Pier, of the Old London Bridge taken in July, August & Sept. 1826, at the period of its removal for the purpose of relieving the Water way during the Excavation of the New Bridge

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1826.

On removing some of the external piles round the outside of the pier, which formed the protection to the masonry called the starling, several others of oak were discovered, closely driven together, and the spaces filled in with rubble stone, and which were doubtless the original protectors to the pier, as the external timbers are evidently of modern date, multiplied by additions to the starling by repairs.^c

The manner in which the foundations of this structure were laid has created much speculation in the scientific world, and among the many ideas, that of turning the course of the river has been suggested, and thereby working upon dry ground. Had that plan been adopted the work would not have occupied one third of the time in building, stated by Stow as thirty-three years, and could have been constructed in a more durable and sightly form ; indeed, the reverse of this plan accounts, in some degree, for its present barbarous appearance and bad construction, as the workmen must have had great difficulties to encounter with a tide acting upon them twice a day. The more probable mode adopted in founding these piers, appears to have been first to have formed an inclosure by driving piles round the outside line of the width of the pier, into which a quantity of loose rubble stones with chalk and gravel were thrown ; upon this they commenced their foundation cills, of oak, and ashlar masonry, at such periods as the tide would admit ; and in order to prevent the rubble work from shifting by the operation of the tide, and running out from under the pier, the starlings were formed ; indeed, the starlings of the present London Bridge appear to be nothing more than what our coffer-dams *now* are, which the architects of those days did not understand the art of clearing of the water and removing after they had performed their office.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
F. R. S. &c.

^c See Plate XIX.

XIII. *Copy of a Manuscript Tract, entitled "A Brief Discovery of the great Purpresture of New Buildings nere to the Cittie," written in the time of King James the First. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S., Secretary, in a Letter to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V. P.*

Read 1st April, 1830.

British Museum, 28th March, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE jealousy with which the increase of London was viewed by the Government, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, is a matter of sufficient notoriety. The Proclamations upon this subject from both Sovereigns must be in your recollection. The general interests of trade, the particular encouragement of apprenticeships, the dread of mischievous people congregating, the fears of fire, plague, and famine, and of the increasing price of provisions, all contributed to a narrow line of policy : so that the construction of buildings upon new sites was in a great measure forbidden unless licensed, as well as rebuildings upon old sites, except under restrictions which tended to beautify the metropolis, and to lessen danger as to fire. Nor was this jealousy confined strictly to the City. In the Proclamations of the 44th of Elizabeth, and of the 1st, 2d, and 5th years of James, we find the inmates of the Suburbs included.

In the absence of other Communications I beg to lay before the Society of Antiquaries the Copy of a short Tract called, "A Brief Discovery of the great Purpresture of New Buildings nere to the Cittie," certainly written in the reign of James the First ; exhibiting, beside

a general view of the gradual increase of the suburbs of London at that time, some sketches of metropolitan manners. The original is preserved in the Lansdowne Manuscript in the British Museum, N^o. 160, fol. 90.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

To HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V.P. F.R.S.

A brief Discoverie of the great purpresture of newe Buyldinges nere to the Cittie, wth the meanes howe to restraine the same, and to diminishe those that are alreadie increased, and to remoove many lewde and badd people, who harbour themselves nere to the Cittie, as desirous only of the spoyle therof.

The Occasions of newe Buyldinges nere vnto the Cittie are either for Necessitie, for Profitt, or for Pleasure.

The Necessitie of newe Buyldinges (is) for that there repayreth from all partes of the Realme sundrie sortes of people, and wth them many ffamilies, w^{ch} muste of necessitie have howses wherin to lodge themselves and their howsholde: the firste sorte wherof are Artifoers and Tradesmen w^{ch} have not served as apprentizes, neither are skyllfull in their trades, and yet doe keepe multitudes of apprentizes, and never keepe jownymen accordinge to the Lawes provided; and when their Apprentizes come forthe of their yeers (and some of them before they have served their full tyme,) they lykewise doe take Apprentizes, because the Lawes are not putt in execucon, and so do make many families: or elsse, haveinge neither place, nor meanes to imploye themselves, they are forced to lighe in victualinge howses. Also many of thes doe teache others their Arte for somes of money, and doe lykewise

agree wth their Apprentizes before they have served halfe their tyme ; and thes takeinge wyves muste of necessitie have howses.

The seconde sorte of people w^{ch} doe resorte nere vnto the Cittie, are suche as have neither knowledge in Trade nor any other meanes to lyve, wherof the better sorte geve themselves to labor as porters, ostelers, laborers, broome-men, and such lyke. Thother sorte are such as rejectinge all honeste labors, doe lyve by Theevinge, Cheatinge, Coseninge, and many other such lewde courses ; and thes for the moste parte are harboured in Ale-houses, Gaming-houses, Brothell-houses, or such lyke places, and there doe they spend their tyme lewdly and idely in plottinge their devises howe to lyve upon the spoyle of other men. Many of thes Cheaters, Shyfters, and Cuttpurses doe keepe great howses themselves, and pay great renttes both in Gardens and other Outplaces, wherin to shrowde their owne consortes, and thes geveinge greater renttes then those w^{ch} laboure truely, doe cause muche Buyldinges, and many howses to be erected in places fytted for their purpose, to goe and come at all tymes of the nighte, at their pleasure ; and thes badd sorte of people have m^ocenarie Mydwyves, Bawdes, and Panders in paye, to entize younge gentillmen, prentizes, and other novizes to stoope to their stales, and not to leave them vntill they have intrapped them in their snares, to the vtter spoyle of them ; and also to bring all sortes of lighte and broken stuffe to their howses, and many of them beinge ther delivered of their Chyldren, verie seldom or never is it knowen what becometh of those Chyldren.

The thirde sorte of people w^{ch} doe resorte nere vnto the Cittie, are such as not haveinge any Arte, Trade, or other meanes to lyve, yett doe some of them presently procure Lycence to keepe Alehouses (w^{ch} lycences are nowe growen so co^mon, as that for tenn shyllinges any man may have them, thoghe he come from the furthest partes of the Realme, so as he geve two suerties, thoghe no better then co^mon bayle). Thes sortes of people and their howses (w^{ch} is almoste everye fourthe howse wthout the Lyberties of the Cittie) are the harbours and harborers of all sortes of lewde and badd people : Thother sorte of

them doe become stable-keepers, brokers, and hawkers, w^{ch} doe shrowde themselves in corners, and covert places fytte to receave stolen-horses, and to convey them from the true Owners, as also any other goodes or comodities whatsoever, and do either sell them covertly in Inns, Tableinge-houses, Highwayes, or els do barter them in fayres, and markettes, or otherwise privelye transporte them to forren places.

The fourthe sorte w^{ch} doe lyve nere vnto the Cittie, are such as are sente by their parentes and freindes to be instructed and brought vpp in some honeste trade or facultie, but they refusinge to take any good course of lyfe, are by evill Companie drawne awaye to all manner of lewdnes, and do make the Alehouses and Gameing-houses their habitation, and places of instruccion; many of thes haveinge gotten some good porcions of money from their freindes, under culler to provide them places of good educacion as Apprentizes wth men of honeste Trade, by meetinge wth evill Companie are dryven to spend the same and thir best tyme in Alehouses and Gaming-houses, to the great discomforte of their freindes, and their owne vtter overthrowe.

By continuall Concourse of thes sortes of people newe Buyldinges are daiely erected and greatly increased, w^{ch} maketh much Scarsetie and Sycknes; and therwth the wycked doe much more faster increase, and those that paynefully laboure to lyve orderly in their severall Trades are not able to lyve but in greate wante and penorie, by reason that no restraynte is hadd of the generall greivances and offences accordinge to the good lawes provided.

The desire of Profitte greatly increaseth Buyldinges, and so muche the more, for that this greate Concourse of all sortes of people draweing nere vnto the Cittie, everie man seeketh out places, highe-wayes, lanes, and coverte corners to buylde upon, yf it be but Sheddes, Cottages, and small Tenementes for people to lodge inn, w^{ch} have not any meanes either to lyve or to imploye themselves aboute any other maner of thinge, then either to begge or steale, by w^{ch} meanes of Idelnes

it cometh to passe that in some one parrishe, there are above two thousand people w^{ch} doe receive releife, and many thowsandes w^{ch} doe lyve w^{thout} any man's knowledge howe, not vseinge any manner of Arte or Trade. Thes sorte of coveteous Buylders exacte greate renttes, and daiely doe increase them, in so muche that a poore handie craftesman is not able by his paynefull laboure to paye the rentte of a smale Tenement and feede his ffamilie. Thes Buylders neither regarde the good of the Co^mon-wealthe, the preserva^{co}n of the health of the Cittie, the mayntenance of honeste Tradesmen, neither doe they regarde of what base condicion soever their Tenantes are, or what lewde and wycked practizes soever they vse so as their exacted renttes be duely payed, the w^{ch} for the moste parte they doe receave either weekly or moonthely.

The third sorte of Buylders are suche as doe buylde for pleasure nere vnto the Cittie, and for the most parte thes Buyldinges were either erected by great persons, or by providente Gentillmen of the Countrey, either to save Charge of hospitalitie, or for some other their private vse and pleasure, when they shall at any tyme have occasion to repayre vnto the Cittie; or they are buylte by rytche Citizens in Gardens, and other conveniente places nere vnto the Cittie, the better to recreate themselves in the Summer season. Thes sortes of Buyldinges were erected for private and necessarie vses by the parties that fyrste buylte them; but when as by deathe or otherwise they parted from them, and that they came to the handes of such who either for necessitie or Coveteousnes devided them and rented them out, then presently after there doth enter and dwelle in them, either those sorte of lewde people w^{ch} are before-meencioned, or a worsor sorte then they, w^{ch} are Papistes, who in thes places of couert doe shrowde them-selves in suche sorte, as when they canot hyde themselves in any parte of the lande else where but they shallbe espied, yet here they can shrowde them-selves in some devided place or garden-howse, and doe ther both vse their superstitious service, (drawinge many of the weaker sorte of his Ma^{ties} subjects vnto their false worshipp of the true God; and also

doe there plotte all their trecheries and wycked attempts whatsoever, bothe againste the king's Maiestie, the State, and their owne Countrie.)

Thes sortes of Buyldinges are likewise vsed for Gameing-houses, Brothell-houses, and for secrett dennes for Theeves, Cheaters, Shyfters, and such lyke, w^{ch} only desire to plante themselves in covert-places the better to praye vpon younge Heires, Marchantes, and other Novizes, as also to be the more reddie for the receipte of any stolen Goodes or Coñodities whatsoever: Also thes Buyldinges are vsed for habitacions and places of imployment, for a sorte of people as badd or worse then Theeves, w^{ch} are such as under culler of Arte pretende that they can make Indeco, Cocheneale, Muske, Saffron, Nuttmeggs, Quicksylver, Waxe, Steele, and many other such lyke coñodities, wherby the Coñon-wealthe is deceaved of many thowsand pounds yeerlie, and the good coñodoties w^{ch} this kingdome yealdeth in forren Countries is greatly discredited, the Marchantes of this famous kingdome many wayes hyndered, generall Trade muche abated, his Ma^{ties} Customes greatly decreased, and w^{ch} is most of all, the holy Gospell greatly scandalized by tolleratinge and not redressing of thes moste detestable abuses and abusers of the Coñon-wealthe.

By admittinge and tolleratinge of this great resorte of all sortes of people and the greater nomber of the wycked sorte, many enormities and myschifes doe ensue, as that the countrie townes and villages are greatly depopulated in many partes of the Realme, and the Confynes of the Cittie most greivously pestered and oppressed wth multitudes of lewde, idle, and dissolute people, and therby muche sycknes and infection is daiely increased. The aunciente inhabitantes both within the Cittie, and also suche paynefull Artificers as lyve nere the Cittie, are hereby greatly hyndered. Also it increaseth muche scarsitie and sycknes, and maketh dearth of all manner of victuales, and suche sorte consumeth the Christian releife as is extended not only by the Cittie of London for the healpe and succor of the poore and needie, but also of that great benevolence w^{ch} is geven by other Charitable people nere adjoyninge to the Cittie; only by reason of the great resorte of all

sortes of poore and vagrante people, as there is not any sufficiente meanes of releife for the aged, impotent, and distressed inhabitantes, w^{ch} is not only dangerous to his Ma^{ties} Chamber the Cittie of London, but also to his Highnes royall person, to admitte suche multitudes of people to continue nere the Cittie, of such lewde and evell disposiçon, and in such confucion, wthout any manner of controlement as now they doe.

If it may be rightly considered that the well goyninge of the better sorte wyll not onely be a meane to preserve them from many extremities w^{ch} for wante therof they falle into, but also to decrease the great multitudes of evill disposed people, then shall it playnelie appeare that the great neglecte of due execution of those good lawes established, hath occasioned all the former myschifes; and that now those good lawes are not of sufficient meanes to healpe and redress thes extremities wthout some other speciall oversighte by authoritie may be graunted. The remedies of w^{ch} lawes are either corporall punishm^{tes} or penall payem^{tes} to be inflicted upon the offenders by the Justices of Peace in their severall precinctes, w^{ch} is impossible to be executed of them as maye plainely appeare by the smale reformaçon of any one abuse (in thes fyftie yeers paste), and as impossible is it for any one man to fynde out and redresse the manyfolde offenders and offences daiely practized and comitted by all sortes of Tradesmen in gen^lall.

But yf it be demaunded what meanes maye be beste used to preserve the number of good and paynefull Artificers, and all other honeste people w^{ch} doe laboure truely in their calleinges, and to decrease the other sorte of evill disposed people, then let it be considered whether the good lawes established for the orderly governinge of Watermen, a people heretofore as disordered as anye other, yett now lyveinge in as good order as anye other men, only by draweing them into a Companie, and placeinge Governours over them, bee not a sufficiente instance to make it moste apparante, that yf all handie craftesmen wthin tenn myles about London were drawne by orderly governm^t into severall Companies, no doubt but the fruites of good successe woulde

proceed from all other handie craftes, as from this one Companie hath done: for Artificers and Tradesmen beinge once united into Companies, and Governors placed over them to see the generall greivances and offences to be truely redressed, then wyll ensue thes, and many other Coñodities tendinge to the generall good of the Coñon-wealthe.

Firste, that noe handie craftsmen nor anye other shall come from any parte of the Realme and leave his aboode, not haveinge served his Apprentizshipp, or not beinge a sufficient workeman in his professed Trade, but he shalbe presently espied, examined, and returned backe againe, by w^{ch} meanes suche as come upp under culler of vseinge Trades, and here doe lyve idely and lewdly in great multitudes, wylbe speedely suppressed, and therby the infeccious sycknes moste lykelie to be stayed, the excessive pryzes of all manner of victualls abated, and the estate of all sortes of Tradesmen muche bettered, in that all maner of falce and deceitfull wares and workes wylbe easely discried, reformed, and altogether suppressed both w^{thin} and nere the Cittie.

Also it wylbe ordered that those w^{ch} have not served as Apprentizes, althoughe they be admitted styll to remayne, yet shall they not keepe vj, viij, and x Apprentizes, as moste coñonly is nowe used; but that a competente nomber, accordinge to the lawes, shalbe allowed to suche as have truely served; and the others w^{ch} have not served, only to worke for themselves: for it is not meete, that he should be admitted to take Apprentizes, w^{ch} hath not served as an Apprentize hymselfe, neither is skylfull in his professed Trade, accordinge to the good Lawes provided.

Lastely, by this orderly Go^vnm^t it wyll come to passe that in shorte tyme bothe Cittie and the Suburbs wylbe muche better able to mayne-taine there poore, aged, and distressed Inhabitanes, and the honeste labouringe Artificers hereby wyll not only profitt themselves, but also the Kings Ma^{tie}, and the Realme, wylbe much inrytched by their rytches; for every Realme then gaynethe wealthe and glorie, when as Artes and Trades are orderly governed in their severall places. And thus beinge governed in severall Companies, they wylbe a strong forte,

and suer walle of defence both to his Ma^{ties} Chamber, the Cittie of London, and to his highnes royall person, and wylbe much better able to doe his Ma^{ties} loyall service, both in purse and person, as occasion shall at any tyme requyre.

Nowe shall it be desired to remoove the great number of lewde and idle people w^{ch} doe shrowd themselves in corners and covert places nere unto the Cittie, only thirstinge after the spoyle thereof, and so in shorte tyme not to suffer any such Catterpyllers here to remayne in such great multitudes? Then lett it be considered howe the great multitudes of victualers, and alehousekeepers maye be decreased, and be restrayned from bringeing upp of younge people in suche an idle Trade; and let none be admitted to keepe victualinge but aunciente men, and suche as have ben of good name and reporte, and they bounde to geve notize unto the Governors of suche as they shall lodgge at any tyme; and hereby all lewde and idell people not haveinge certificate from whence they come, or what they are, wyll easely be discried; thus beinge founde, lett them presently be sente to the places from whence they came, and nōne tollerated here to remayne, to lyve uppōn the spoyle of other men, wthout controlem^t, as now they doe.

If it shalbe thought fyttē to staye the great purpresture of any further buyldinge of slighte and smale Tenem^{tes}, Cottages, and Sheddes, then lett it be considered, that the best cōurse and moste availeable to restraine and prevente the same (is) to have the Carpenters and Bricklayers bounde not to erect any newe Buyldinges before they have certefied the Companie, and the Companie the Govⁿers, and the Govⁿers the ll^s of his Ma^{ties} moste ho^{ble} Privie Counsell. This Cōurse duely observed and keeppte, then no doubte but in shorte tyme due and provident circumspecōn beinge hadd, wth the lyke diligēte care as was decreed in the Cittie of London in the fyrst yeere of kinge Richarde the fyrste, bothe wthin the Cittie, and in places nere adioyninge to the Cittie, all manner of slighte and newe Buyldinges, nowe moste cōmōly used and raysed in everie Corner, wylbe presently stayed, the w^{ch} for the moste parte are erected (in Out places, Highwayes, Lanes, and

Alleis) to be habitacõns for all sortes of lewde and badd people : all the w^{ch}, by due execucõ of this good and orderly Government beinge rooted out, then maye the Buyldinges be either pulled downe or be made fitt habitacõns for honeste paynfull handie craftesmen to be placed in their steades, or otherwise maye be turned to any other charitable uses whatsoever.

If diligente execucion of this good and necessarie Government mighte be hadd in all partes of this Realme, then no doubte woulde this famous Kingdome of Greate Brittaine far exceed all other forren Nations, in all manner of plentie, peace, and prosperitie, and therwth the ever Continueinge Gospell wyll still florishe, both in Countrie, Cittie, and Suburbs.

XIV. *Catalogue and Account of certain Vases and other Etruscan Antiquities discovered in 1828 and 1829, by the PRINCE OF CANINO : translated, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by LORD DUDLEY STUART, in a Letter to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T., President.*

Read 4th and 11th February, 1830.

Torquay, December 24, 1829.

MY LORD,

WHEN I last had the honour of seeing you, and showing you the Etruscan ornaments found in the Prince of Canino's excavations, I undertook, with your permission, to send you some account of these excavations, and your Lordship was so good as to say it should be read to the Society of which you are President. As nothing that I can have to say on the subject can be so interesting as the Prince's own account of the discoveries, I have translated the note at the end of the Catalogue which he has printed. I now have the honour of sending you this translation, together with the original, and also a collection of fac-similes of the inscriptions on the vases described. Should the Society be disposed to have these fac-similes printed, I shall be happy to furnish a translation of the descriptions also, which, in that case, ought perhaps to accompany them.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

DUDLEY COUTTS STUART.

CATALOGUE
OF
ONE HUNDRED VASES

FORMING PART OF THE COLLECTION
LATELY DISCOVERED ON THE ESTATE OF CANINO.

N. B. The Roman numerals show the place each article occupies in the
GENERAL CATALOGUE.

V.

1. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms; circumference four palms and a half; size of figures one palm. Six Bacchantes with the thyrsus; lid, with ten figures of animals in black.—*Plain of Cavalupo. Fuesca Family; November 1828.*

VII.

2. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms; circumference five palms; size of figures one palm. Two Priests, two Warriors, and two Women; one of the warriors bears on his shield a Pegasus; the other is followed by a greyhound. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; November 1828.*

IX.

3. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height one palm and a half; circumference four palms; size of figures ten inches. Five figures of Priests and Priestesses.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; November 1828.*

X.

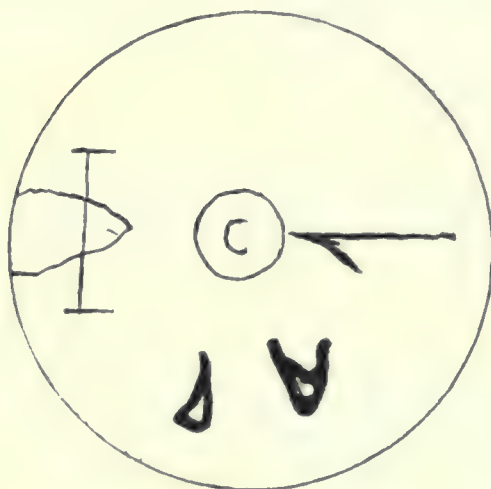
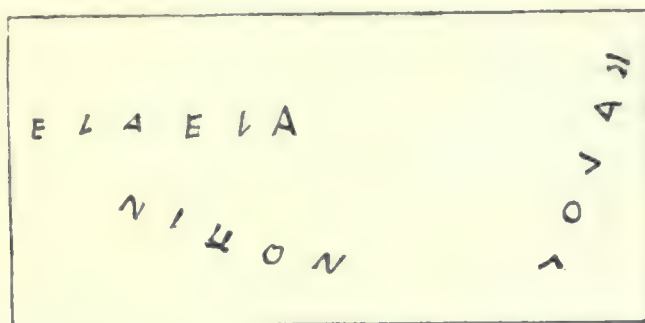
4. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures seven inches. Ten Satyrs. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; November 1828.*

XI.

THE CHARIOTEER.

5. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height three palms ; circumference six palms ; size of the figures one palm and an inch. On one side a quadriga with its driver ; on the other Minerva, with her lance erect, and her shield, bearing on its field half a white horse with wings ; on each side of the goddess two columns, and on the top of each a cock. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania ; December 1828.*

Inscription on the first Picture :



XIII.

THE LION.

6. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side a King, with two Women and two Fauns; on the other a Soothsayer, three Warriors and a Lion: one of the warriors has a serpent on his shield. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; November 1828.*

XIV.

PRIAPUS.

7. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height one palm and a half; circumference four palms. A Sacrifice to Priapus on one side, and on the other two Warriors fighting, between two women in distress; one of the warriors has on his shield two globes, and in the middle of the shield a smaller globe. Before the Hermes of Priapus is seen an altar with a fire kindled on it. This Vase was found in a square stone sepulchre, in which there was also a broken Lachrymatory of alabaster, and the following Cup. Uninjured.—*Plain of la Doganella on the banks of the river Fiora; October 1828.*

XV.

THE TWO COCKS.

8. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm; height half a palm. Ornamented with two Cocks on the reverse. The bottom on the inside without figures. Uninjured.—*Doganella; October 1828.*

Inscription:

ΤΥΕΣΟΝΚΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ
ΤΥΕΣΟΝΚΟΝΕΑΡΧΟΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ

XVI.

THE PENSIVE WARRIOR.

9. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height one palm and a half; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side a Priest, a Priestess, and a Faun; on the other a Warrior seated and wrapped in his mantle, in a melancholy attitude, between a woman who is holding his helmet, and a young man. Complete.—*Fam. Minuca; November 1828.*

XVII.

THE PALMS.

10. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures ten inches. On one side a Poet with a Lyre, between two women with palm-branches in their hands, and a Stag; on the other two Warriors under the same shield, which has on its field a human leg: beside the warriors are two Matrons standing. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.*

XXII.

11. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms and a half; size of the figure five inches. Europa seated on the Bull. Uninjured.—*Plain of Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; October 1828.*

XXIV.

THE PRIESTS OF BACCHUS.

12. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures three inches. Five Fauns and Priests, with a front view of a quadriga, all painted on the neck of the vase. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

Inscription on the rim of the Vase :



XXVIII.

13. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms and a half; size of the figures five inches. A Woman between two Soothsayers, all three seated. Uninjured. *Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda, October 1828.*

XXXV.

14. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm and an inch. In the bottom two Youths naked; on the reverse six others also naked. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; November 1828.*

Inscription under the foot :



LXXIX.

THE FALLEN WARRIOR.

15. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and half; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm and an inch. On one side two Warriors fighting, and another on the ground at their feet; on the other a Warrior and a Woman seated between two men standing. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo*. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.

LXXX.

THE BULL OF HERCULES.

16. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures ten inches. On each side Hercules fighting with the Bull. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo*. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.

Marked under the foot :



LXXXI.

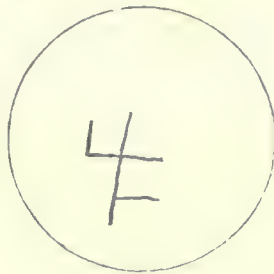
THE WHIP.

17. Middle-sized Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height eleven inches; circumference two palms; size of the figures six inches. Three Warriors, two of whom are armed with lances, and one with a whip is threatening a Faun. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo*. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.

LXXXIII.

18. Middle-sized Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height thirteen inches ; circumference twenty-four. On one side two female figures ; on the other a Poet is playing on the lyre, between two women who have palm-branches in their hands. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca ; November 1828.*

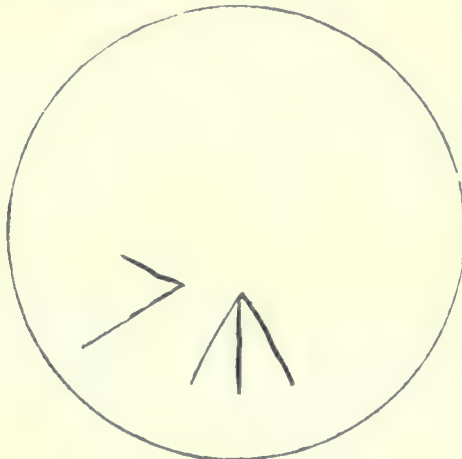
Marked under the foot :



LXXXIV.

19. Middle-sized Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height fourteen inches ; circumference twenty-six inches ; size of the figures six inches. On one side a Warrior on horseback is fighting with another on foot ; on the other side a Woman is playing on the lyre between four women with palm-branches in their hands. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca ; November 1828.*

Marked under the foot :



LXXXVIII.

20. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, black figures in relief. Height fifteen inches ; circumference twenty-seven. Three figures of Tigers in the black in relief. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; October 1828.*

XC.

21. Middle-sized Vase with two handles, figures black. Height thirteen inches ; circumference twenty-eight ; size of the figures five inches. Two Women and a Priest. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; October 1828.*

Marked under the foot :



CXLVI.

22. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter fourteen inches. Eight figures of Bacchantes with the thyrsus. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.*

Marked under the foot :



CXLVII.

23. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter fourteen inches. Six figures draped.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; November 1828.*

CXLVIII.

BELLEROPHON.

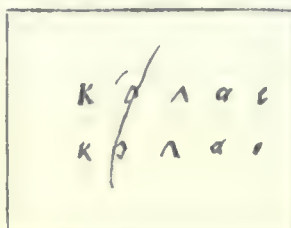
24. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm and a half; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom Bellerophon with the Chimera. On the reverse, four Warriors on horseback, and four on foot. Complete.—*Plain of Mazzangrugno; December 1828.*

CL.

25. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter thirteen inches; size of the figures three inches. In the bottom two figures draped; on the re-

verse two draped and two naked.—*Mazzangrugno*; December 1828.

Inscription :



CLIV.

THE SERPENT OF THETIS.

26. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms; size of the figures ten inches. On one side Bacchus and Ariadne between two Fauns; on the other Peleus is carrying off Thetis, who is in vain defended by a Serpent. Two women are flying in affright.—*Cavalupo*. *Fam. Ania*; January 1829.

Inscription :



CLVIII.

27. Cup with one handle, figures black. Seven Priests, and Fauns sitting. Complete.—*Fam. Fuesca ; December 1828.*

CLIX.

28. Small Vase with one handle, figures black. Height ten inches ; circumference fourteen. Hercules with Minerva, Mercury, and a Priest. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; December 1828.*

CLX.

29. Small Vase with one handle, figures black. Height ten inches ; circumference fourteen ; size of the figures four inches. Two Warriors fighting, between two Women draped.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; December 1828.*

CLXI.

30. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height twelve inches ; circumference twenty-four ; size of the figures five inches. Struggle between a Warrior and a Bull before a Priest, who is seated. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; December 1828.*

CLXII.

THE TRIPOD OF BACCHUS.

31. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms ; circumference five palms ; size of the figures thirteen inches. Six Bacchantes, and Priestesses, and a tripod amidst them. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania, January 1829.*

CLXX.

32. Small Cup with a yellow figure. Diameter eight inches. A female head five inches high. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca ; December 1828.*

CLXXXI.

33. Middle-sized Vase with two handles, figures black. Height one palm; circumference one palm and a half. A Priest seated between two Satyrs. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; December 1828.*

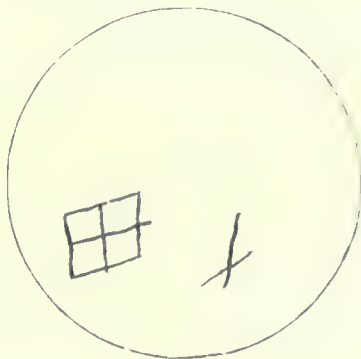
CXC.

34. Stone Tomb. Length four palms; height three palms; breadth three palms. Made in the form of a coffin with a cover: there were found in the inside the Vase, N°. 14, and the Cup, N°. 15, with a Lachrymatory of alabaster.—*Doganella; October 1828.*

CCXXXVIII.

35. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height one palm and a half; circumference two palms. On one side a Priest with a young Woman; on the other a Man, who is killing a quadruped.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; January 1829.*

Inscription under the foot:



CCXXXIX.

36. Small Vase with two handles, figures black. Height one palm; circumference one palm and a half. Five Fauns, and a Priest. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; January 1829.*

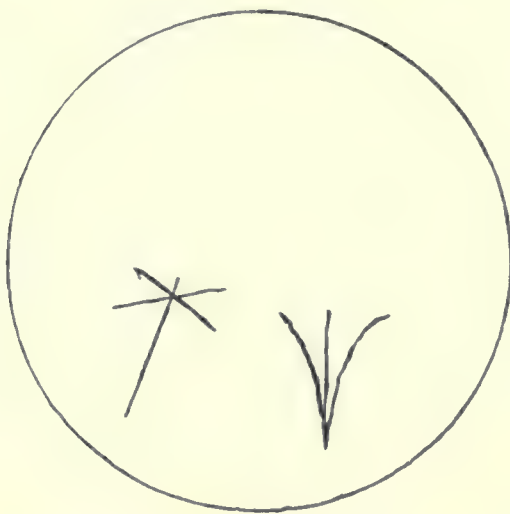
CCXLII.

37. Small Vase with two handles, figures black. On one side two Warriors; on the other a Woman, and two Lions. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; January 1829.*

CCXLVII.

38. Small Vase with two handles, figures black. Height one palm; circumference one palm and a half. Four draped figures. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; January 1829.*

Marked under the foot :



CCXLVIII.

39. Small Vase with two handles, figures black. Height one palm; circumference one palm and a half; five draped figures. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; January 1829.*

CCLXVIII.

40. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms. On one side a Warrior with four Horses, Hercules, and two Priests. On the other two Women, a Warrior, and a wild Boar. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXIX.

41. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms. Four Women, a Priest, and a Warrior. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXI.

42. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms. On one side a Woman, with two Dogs and two Men; on the other three Fauns, and a Woman. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXII.

43. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms. On one side four Warriors and a Woman; on the other two Priests, with two Women. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

Marked under the foot:



CCLXXIII.

THE HE-GOAT.

44. Cup with black and yellow figures. Diameter one palm four inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a male figure; on the reverse a Youth, and a He-goat, with yellow ornaments. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

Inscription:



CCLXXIV.

45. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm four inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a naked Youth; on the reverse two Youths, with their sandals in their hands. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

CCLXXV.

46. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm. In the bottom a Faun, seated; on the reverse two Fauns, likewise seated. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia; January 1829.*

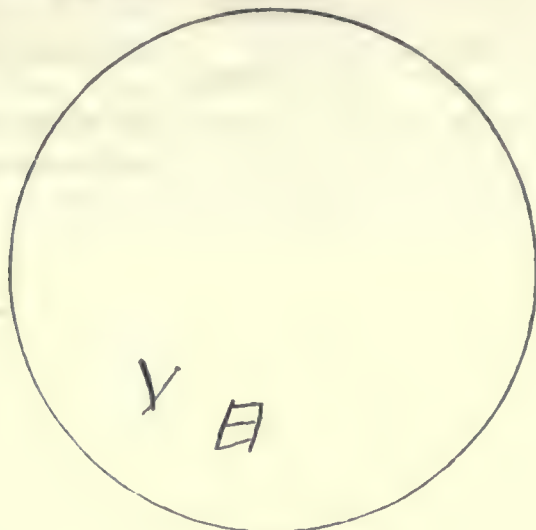
Marked under the foot:



CCLXXVIII.

47. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom two Women draped; on the reverse five Women and a young Man. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia; January 1829.*

Marked under the foot :



CCLXXIX.

48. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom a naked Youth ; on the reverse six naked Youths. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXX.

49. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom a naked Youth ; on the reverse six Girls draped. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXXI.

50. Cup with black figures. Diameter ten inches. On the reverse six small figures, and two Horses. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXXII.

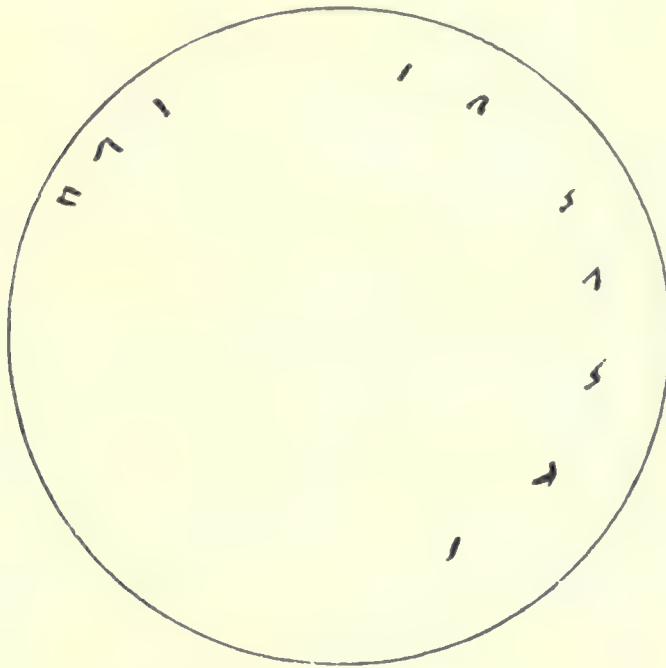
51. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom a Warrior ; on the reverse eight figures, with a winged Genius. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; January 1829.*

CCLXXXIII.

THE YOUTH.

52. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches; size of figures six inches. The reverse has no painting; in the bottom a naked Youth. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

Inscription:



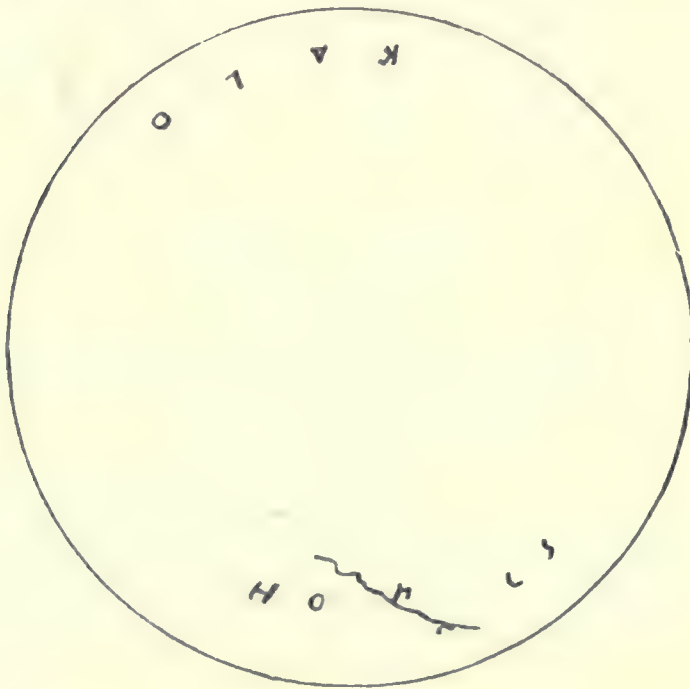
CCLXXXIV.

53. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches; size of figures six inches. In the bottom two naked Youths; on the reverse six naked Youths. Complete. *Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

CCLXXXV.

54. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm four inches. In the bottom a Faun. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

Inscription :



CCLXXXVI.

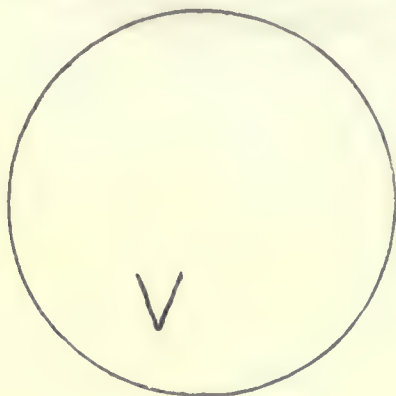
55. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm. In the bottom a Youth and a Girl; on the reverse four Fauns and four Women. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

CCLXXXVIII.

56. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom

an old Man on horseback ; on the reverse six figures, two of them on horseback. Complete.—*Doganella ; November 1828.*

Marked under the foot :



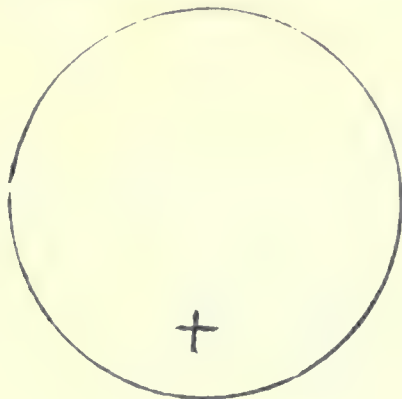
CCLXXXIX.

57. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom a Youth and a Girl : on the reverse, four Women and two Men. Complete.—*Doganella ; November 1828.*

CCXCII.

58. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches. In the bottom a young Man and a Woman, both sitting ; on the reverse, four young Men, and four Girls. Complete.—*Doganella ; November 1828.*

Marked under the foot :



CCXCIV.

59. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eight inches. In the bottom a Faun riding on a Stag; on the reverse four Women, and two Men. Complete.—*Doganella*; November 1828.

Marked under the foot :

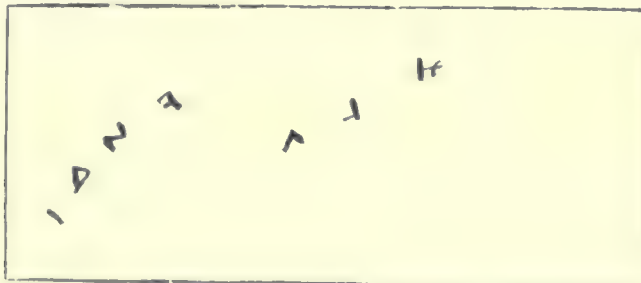


CCXCV.

THE MOLOSSIAN DOG.

60. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms; size of figures one palm. On one side a Warrior with four Horses; on the other side two Warriors, an old Man, a Woman, and a Molossian Dog. Complete.—*Cavalupo*. *Fam. Ania*; December 1828.

Inscription :

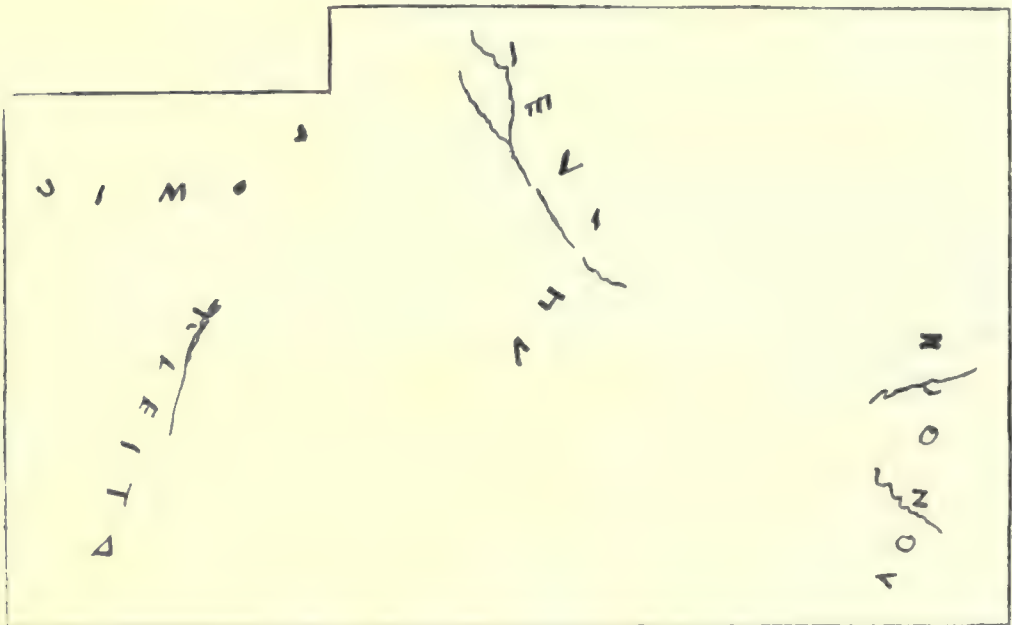


CCXCVI.

THE TAMED BULL.

61. Large Vase with three handles; figures black, with two rows of paintings. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms; size of figures one palm. In the first row a male figure riding on a Bull. The second picture represents an old Man driving four horses, a Woman, and a Dog.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

Inscription:



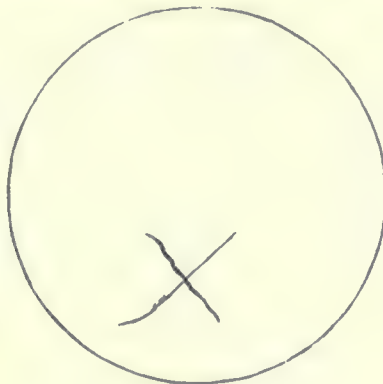
Marked under the foot :



CCXCVII.

62. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms. On one side five Warriors, one of them on horseback, and a Dog; on the other side an old Man driving four horses, a Warrior, and a Youth. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fum. Apia; January 1829.*

Marked under the foot :

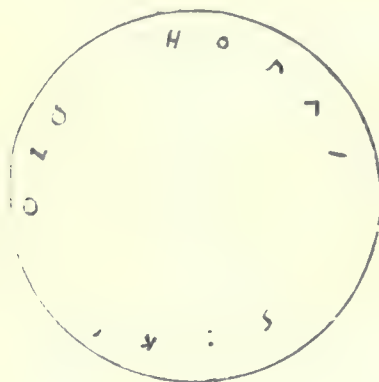


CCC.V.

THE YOUNG GIRL.

63. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm; size of figures eight inches. In the bottom a young Woman draped; the reverse without painting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; January 1829.*

Inscription :



CCCXV.

64. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms; circumference three palms and a half. On one side a Woman riding on a Bull; on the other the same. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; November 1828.*

Marked under the foot :

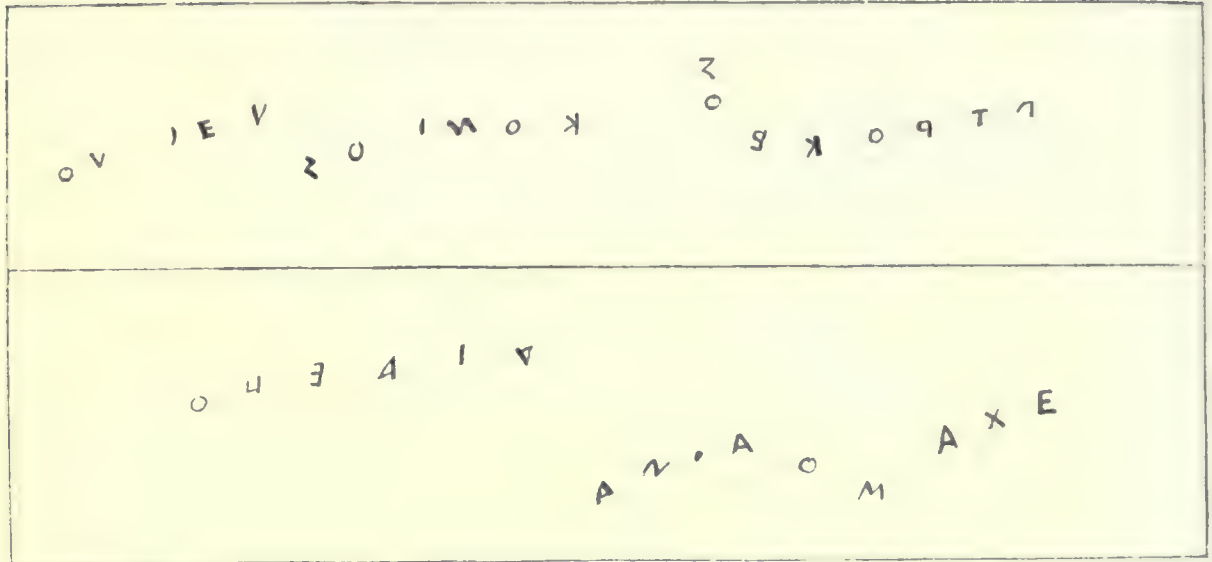


DXXVII.

THE DEATH OF HECTOR.

65. Large Vase with two handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height three palms; circumference five palms; size of figures nine inches. In the first picture, Achilles in his chariot is in the act of dragging the dead body of Hector; the shade of Patroclus is in the air, and seems to participate in the triumph; a white greyhound accompanies the horses. In the second picture five armed Women, two of whom have crowns above their helmets; one of them is mounted on a white horse, and the other four on black ones; they are preceded by a black greyhound. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

Inscription on the first picture :



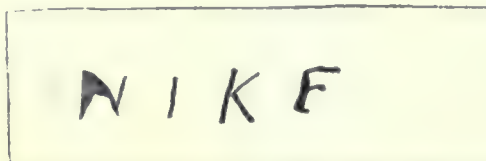
On the second.

DXLI.

VICTORY.

66. Large Cup with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference five palms; size of figures one palm and a half. In the first picture a winged Victory with a wreath in her hands. In the second picture a naked young Man, with a pole having a hole in the top; it might be entitled the Nuptials. Chipped in a few places.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; December 1828.*

Inscription on the first picture:



DXCVI.

THE NUPTIALS OF JUPITER.

67. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of figures ten inches. First picture, Jupiter and Juno in a quadriga, preceded by Apollo playing on his lyre. A Goddess, with her hand raised, appears to be addressing the sovereign couple: the quadriga is standing still: Mercury precedes the horses, and is so placed, that no part of him is seen except the back of his head; he is accompanied by a Molossian Dog. In the second picture the Indian Bacchus, with his cup in one hand and a vine leaf in the other, is standing between two Priestesses and two Satyrs, one of whom is dancing, and the other is playing on the double *Tibia*. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; January 1829.*

DC.

KING ADMETUS.

68. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference five palms; size of figures one palm four inches. In the first picture Admetus is extending his right hand to Mercury, who appears to be coming to beg his hospitality; in the face of the God is discovered the fatal news of which he is the bearer. Alcestes by the side of Admetus, supporting his left elbow with his right hand, and his chin with his left, appears to be maturing some sublime resolution. A few pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia; January 1829.*

DCXI.

THE RAPE.

69. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms nine inches; circumference five palms; size of figures fourteen inches. In the first picture a young Prince, with a diadem on his head, is seizing by one arm and by the shoulders a woman, who is turning round in indignation; an attendant of the latter is pointing out with both her hands the road they were going; a man robed is bearing the sceptre behind

the Prince. In the second picture a Priest between two Priestesses. A few pieces of the field are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; February 1829.*

DCXII.

MELAMPYGES.

70. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture Hercules is seen between Mercury and Minerva; in his right hand he has his club, and with his left holds a stick which rests upon his shoulder, to which are hung by the feet the two Cecrops', brothers. In the second picture a Priest between two Priestesses in ample mantles. A few pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

DCXXII.

THE TWO EAGLES.

71. Large Vase with three handles, figures black and white, painted in three rows. Height two palms and four inches; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures eight inches. The upper row represents two couple of Warriors fighting, and a fifth looking at one of the couples; a Shield-bearer is driving a Quadriga in profile. In the second row, a Quadriga, fronting the spectator, is driven by a man in a white tunic, and two eagles are hovering on different sides above the horses' heads; two Goddesses, perhaps two Horæ, appear to be caressing the horses, which are standing still. In the third row are two Lions and two wild Boars. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; January 1829.*

DCXXIII.

THE FOUR GODDESSES.

72. Large Vase with three handles, figures black and white, painted in three rows. Height two palms and two inches; circumference four palms and nine inches; size of the figures nine inches. In the first row a Shield-bearer, driving two horses, and a Woman flying before him; a Warrior, sword in hand, follows on foot, in a menacing attitude;

Minerva and Mercury are following the Warrior. In the second row four Goddesses, amongst whom is recognised Minerva, are following Mercury, who is speaking to an old man in an ample mantle, who is presenting to him a flower. In the third row three Men are surrounding a Lion, which they seem to be defying. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta ; February 1829.*

DCXXV.

THE OATH OF PHILOCTETES.

73. Large Vase with three handles, figures white and black, painted in two rows. Height two palms and two inches; circumference five palms; size of the figures one palm. In the upper row a Quadriga in profile, a Woman, a Priest, and two Warriors. In the second row Hercules lying down is leaning on his club: before him Philoctetes is pressing one hand on his breast, and is stretching out the other in the act of swearing, that he will never reveal the place where the body of his friend is laid. Minerva, armed and seated, is watching Hercules, and her chariot, which is seen behind her, shows that she is waiting till the hero breathes his last, in order to convey him to Olympus. A few pieces of the field are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia ; February 1829.*

DCXXVI.

MERCURY AND MINERVA.

74. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures eleven inches. In the first picture Mercury is speaking to Minerva, who is turning round in indignation; a Goddess precedes her and another follows her, both wearing long mantles, and with a mournful air. In the second picture, a Man clad in a short dress, with his head covered with the pileus extended to a strange length, is standing between two armed Warriors. A few pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania ; February 1829.*

DCXXXIII.

THE CENTAUR.

75. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms and two inches; circumference four palms; size of the figures ten inches. On one side a Centaur, perhaps Chiron, is receiving Hercules; on the legs of the Centaur is a Doe; Mercury is sitting on a stone. In the second picture four Men naked are knocking down the fruit from a tree. The savage state, which preceded the civilized, when men lived upon acorns, appears to be here designated; one person has got up into the tree; another gathers up the fruit from the ground; the other two are beating the loaded branches with long sticks. Several pieces are wanting.—*Plain of Marucheto. February 1829.*

DCCIX.

76. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height five palms; size of figures one palm and three inches. In the first picture Hercules with his club upon his shoulder and a bow in his hand; on his right, under a colonnade, Victory is presenting him with a crown; on his left Jupiter or Neptune with winged lightning and a sceptre in his hand. On the other side a Quadriga driven by a woman crowned: near the chariot another woman is holding a cup in her right hand and a lyre in her left; before the horses is seen the foremost half of a doe. Several pieces of the field are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; February 1829.*

DCCX.

TYNDARUS AND LEDA.

77. Large Vase with two handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures fourteen inches. On one side Hercules is bringing to the ground the Nemean Lion, which with one of his hind paws is touching the forehead of the hero; Minerva is looking on at the combat: she has an owl on her shield: an attendant of Hercules is holding two lances, and Hercules's mantle is hanging on a tree. On the other side are seen the

Dioscuri, each armed with two spears, by the side of their horses, and opposite Tyndarus seated, and Leda standing. The Dioscuri appear on the point of departing. A piece is wanting in the breast of Hercules. *Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; February 1829.*

DCCXI.

JUPITER AND JUNO.

78. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm and two inches. On one side Jupiter and Juno in a quadriga are accompanied by Apollo on foot playing on the lyre; Bacchus is following the chariot; Diana and Mercury are standing near the horses, between whose legs a doe is visible. On the other side the Indian Bacchus is holding a Diota by its foot in his left hand and a long vine-leaf in his right, two Goddesses and two Fauns accompany him. Some pieces in the drapery are wanting. *Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; January 1829.*

DCCXIII.

79. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference seven palms; size of the figures sixteen inches; On one side Juno, with a diadem on her head, is holding a sceptre in her left hand and an apple in her right; she appears to be presenting the apple to a sitting figure richly draped, who has a hat on her head, and in her hand a stick, the lower end of which is round; behind Juno is seen Minerva with her helmet and spear, and opposite, another Goddess, perhaps Venus, with a branch in her hand. On the other side, a high Priest of Bacchus is presenting the Diota to a Bacchante, who is filling it with her left hand, holding in her right a thyrsus, which is resting upon an altar; behind the Bacchante stands a Woman playing on the double tibia, and near a Priest is seen a Priestess with a sacred branch in her hand. Several pieces are wanting. *Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca; December 1828.*

DCCXIV.

80. Small Vase with one handle, figures yellow. Height six inches ; circumference eighteen ; size of the figures two inches. A young Lad is carrying on his shoulders a Cupid, and supporting himself by leaning his hands upon his knees : opposite, another Lad is sitting on a pedestal. Two small pieces are wanting in the field.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; January 1829.*

DCCXV.

81. Small Vase with one handle, figures yellow. Height six inches ; circumference one palm ; size of the figures three inches. A Woman with a garland of flowers in her hands. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuesca ; January 1828.*

DCCXIX.

82. Vase with one handle, figures black. Height fourteen inches ; circumference two palms ; size of the figures seven inches. A combat between two Warriors. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia ; February 1829.*

DCCXXXVI.

83. Small Vase with black figures. Height one palm ; circumference two palms. Bacchus, a Warrior, and a Priest, all three seated. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia ; February 1829.*

DCCLV.

84. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter fourteen inches ; size of the figures five inches. In the bottom a Priest with a patera in his hand : on the reverse two Priests and four Priestesses ; also ornamented with ivy-leaves and dolphins. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta ; 1829.*

DCCLXIII.

85. Small Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms and four inches ; circumference four palms ; size of the figures one palm. On one side two Warriors kneeling before a statue

of Bellona: on the other Bacchus with a he-goat behind him, and the diota in his hand, a Priestess is on each side of him. Complete.—*Doganella. December 1828.*

DCCLXV.

86. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height two palms four inches; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side two Warriors kneeling before the statue of Bellona: on the other, Bacchus with the he-goat behind him, and the diota in his hand, between two Priestesses. Entire.—*Doganella. December 1828.*

DCCLXVI.

87. A small Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height eight inches; circumference eighteen; size of the figures four inches. On one side Hercules: on the other a Priest draped. Complete.—*Marucheto. January 1829.*

DCCLXXXV.

88. Small Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height eleven inches; circumference twenty-two; size of the figures four inches. On each side a person playing the lyre. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ranuta; January 1829.*

DCCLXXXVI.

89. Small Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height seven inches; circumference eighteen; size of the figures four inches. On one side a Woman with a veil in her hand: on the other a Woman in the same attitude, with a Priest. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; December 1828.*

DCCLXXXIX.

90. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of figures ten inches. On one side two suppliant Warriors, each with two spears, are bowing before an image of Minerva: on the other a Warrior with two spears on his shoul-

ders, standing near his horse; two Men half naked attend him. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; February 1829.*

DCCXCI.

91. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white, Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side the Indian Bacchus with a vine-leaf in his right hand, and the thyrsus in his left, is standing between two Priestesses, one of whom holds the crotala: on the other side a Priestess with a torch in her hand, and at her side an old Man and a Woman. Several pieces are wanting. *February 1829.*

Inscription under the foot:



DCCC.

92. Small Vase with one handle, figures black and white. Height one palm and a half; circumference two palms; size of figures five inches. Three Heads, one above and two under, looking at one another. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

DCCCL.

93. Small Vase with black and white figures. Height sixteen inches; circumference twenty-eight; size of the figures six inches. On one side a Quadriga in profile, with a Driver in a white tunick, and a Warrior standing near the horses. On the other side Bacchus seated with a Priestess. Complete.—*Marucheto. January 1829.*

DCCCX.

94. Small Vase with black and white figures. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures six inches. The Indian Bacchus between a Priest and a Priestess. Complete.—*Marucheto. January 1829.*

DCCCXIII.

95. Small Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures six inches. A Man seated, with his mantle covering his face: opposite is seen another seated, and behind the first stands a Woman. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; January 1829.*

DCCCXIV.

96. Small Vase with one handle, figures black and white. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures eight inches. A Woman standing between two others who are seated, all three richly draped. Complete.—*Marucheto. January 1829.*

DCCCXXIII.

97. Small Vase with two handles, figures black. Height sixteen inches; circumference twenty-seven; size of the figures eight inches. On one side two Figures seated under a tree are filling a basket with apples. On the other a Faun and a Woman. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; January 1829.*

DCCCXCIV.

98. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures nine inches. On one

side a front view of a Quadriga with two Warriors in it, another with a quiver accompanies the chariot on foot: on the other side a Warrior covered with his shield, bearing on the field a dolphin, is standing between a Woman and a King, who has a sceptre in his hand, the same figure as the one represented with a quiver in the other picture, is following the woman. A few pieces are wanting.—*Marucheto. February 1829.*

DCCCCXCVII.

99. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms and four inches; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures one palm. On one side a Quadriga with two Warriors: on the other the Indian Bacchus with the diota in his hand between two Priestesses: the figure of one of these is incomplete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fuescu; January 1829.*

DCCCCXCVIII.

100. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms and a half; circumference five palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side a Faun and two Bacchantes dancing: on the other three Figures draped. Complete.—*Marucheto. January 1829.*

No. II.

SECOND HUNDRED.

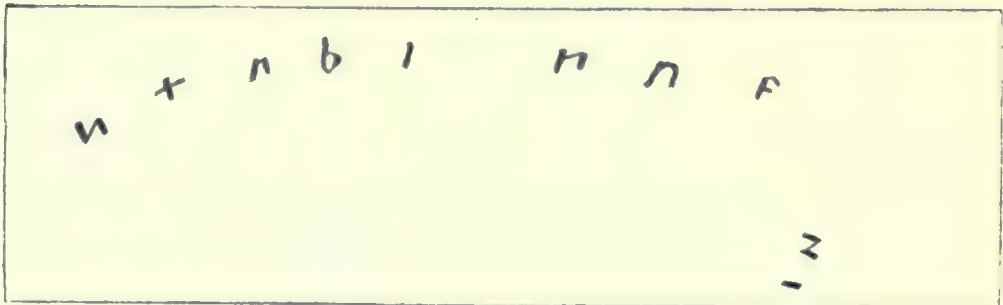
ARTICLES WITH INSCRIPTIONS.

DXXVIII.

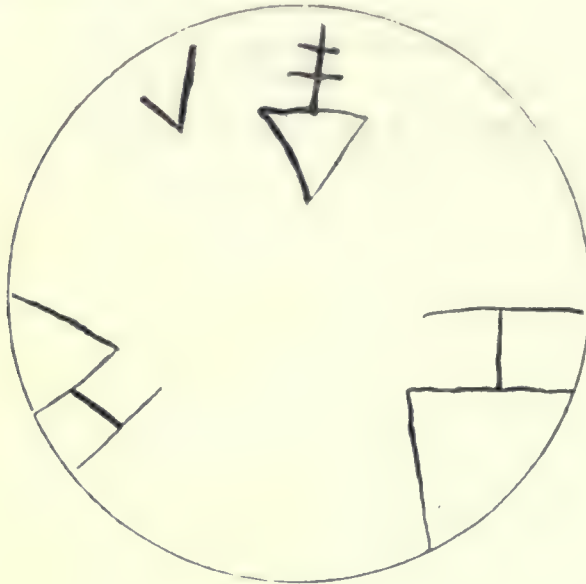
HERCULES AND ANTEUS.

1. Large Vase with two handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height two palms and a half; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture Hercules lifts Antæus, who in vain endeavours to touch the ground with his hand: a trophy of the arms of Hercules is hung up behind the hero: on one side Mercury, on the other Pallas, are spectators of the contest. In the second picture, a front view of a Quadriga, with an old Warrior and a Shield-bearer; probably, Priam going to the Grecian camp under the guidance of Mercury, to beg for the body of his son; an eagle shows the way. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; January 1829.*

Inscription on the first painting:



Inscription under the foot :

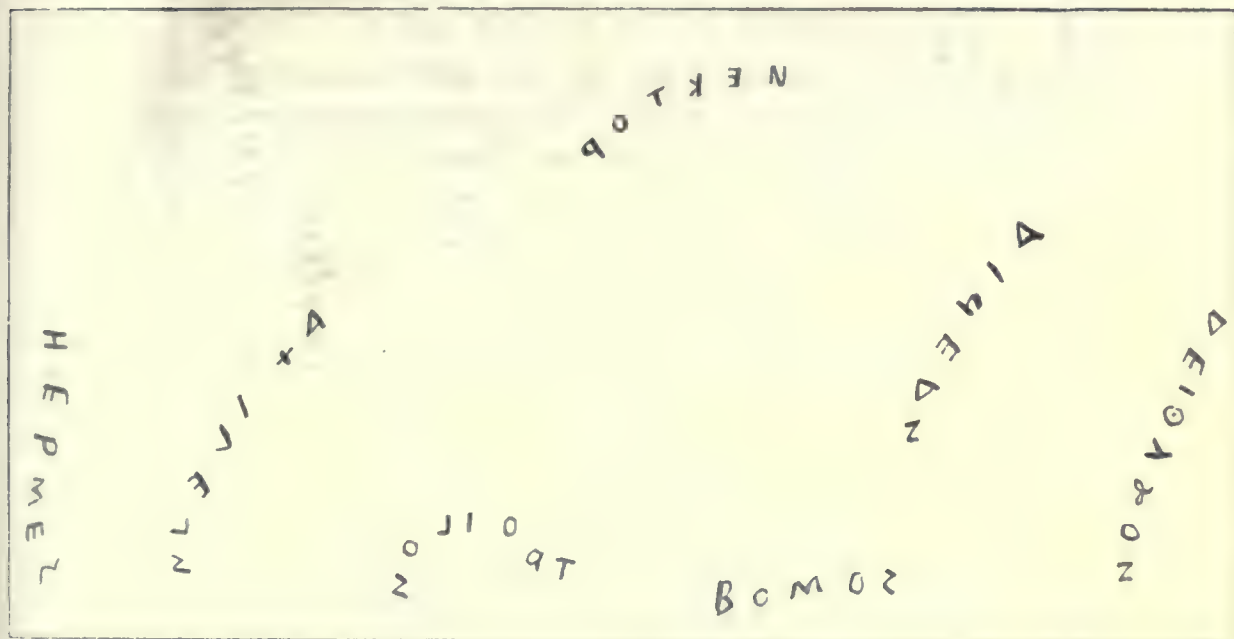


DXXIX.

THE DEATH OF TROILUS.

2. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height two palms ; circumference three palms ; size of the figures six inches ; with four rows of paintings. In the first row, towards the foot, five Tigers. In the second row a Man on his knees between two Tigers ; two Cocks with human heads, fighting ; two Tigers and two He-goats. In the third row, the body of Troilus lying at the feet of Achilles, who has fixed the head of Troilus on his spear, and points it threateningly to Hector : Hector is raising his shield and spear ; Æneas, Deiphobus, and another Warrior armed, are following Hector ; Minerva and Mercury follow Achilles : Minerva holds in her hand a crown of bay : two Griffins and two Swans terminate this row. In the fourth, two Griffins with human heads, and two Stags. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; January 1829.*

Inscription on the third row :

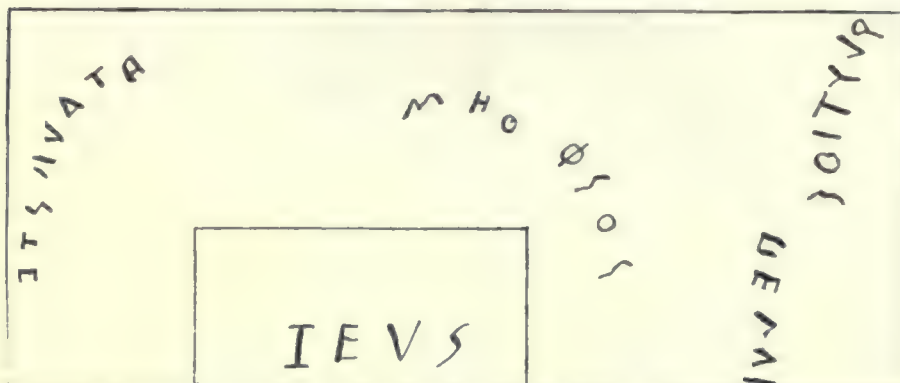


DXXX.

ATALANTA.

3. Large Vase with three handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured, painted in three rows. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures ten inches. In the first row, towards the foot, a Griffin, four Tigers, a Swan, and two Stags. In the second row, Atalanta, standing, receives the Boar's head from Meleager: she is followed by a Woman and three Men; behind Meleager is seen Peleus armed, and followed by two Men; this picture is terminated in the two sides by two Lions. In the other picture of this row is seen Jupiter striking with his bolt the giant Typhon, who is represented with two immense tails, like those of a serpent. In the third row, eleven Horses with their Riders. Chipped in a few places.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; January 1829.*

Inscription on the first painting :



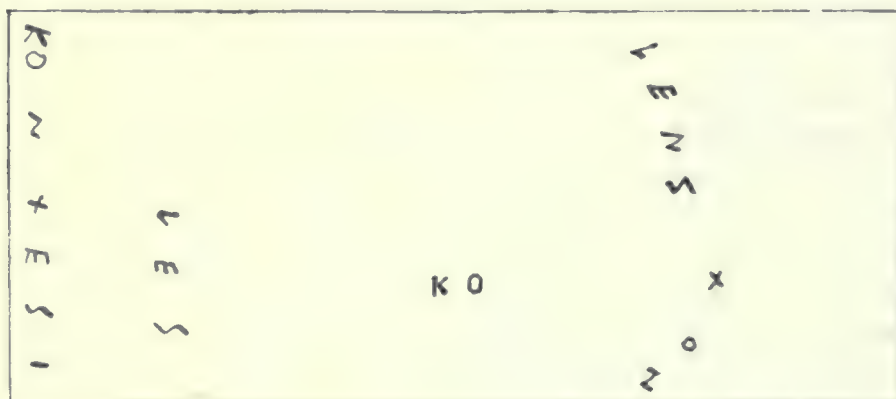
On the second painting.

DXXXIV.

THE COMBAT OF THE TWO WARRIORS.

4. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm ; circumference two palms ; size of the figures five inches. Represents a combat between two Horsemen who are fighting with spears : a Mask in a grotesque dress seems to be playing antics between the feet of the horses. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; January 1829.*

Inscription :



DXXXV.

THE ALLIANCE OF TWO WARRIORS.

5. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures five inches. Represents two Warriors on foot, and between them a Woman with a flower in her hand, and a dog at her feet. Uninjured.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; January 1829.

Inscription :



DXXXVI.

THE REPOSE OF TWO WARRIORS.

6. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures five inches. Represents two Warriors in repose, one of them holds in his hand an empty cup. The spear-heads seem to be covered with a sheath. Uninjured.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; January 1829.

Inscription :

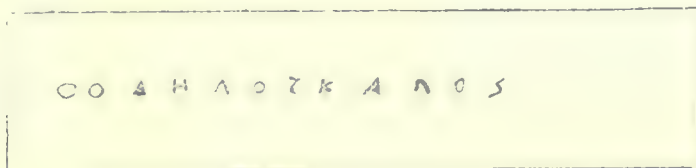


DXXXVII.

THE SACRIFICE.

7. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures yellow. Height one palm; circumference three palms; size of the figures five inches. Represents three young Men crowned with bay, one naked, and the other two draped; between them is an Altar, the fire burning, and the victim in the flames; one of the youths holds a torch in his hand, another holds a cup. Nearly complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

Inscription :

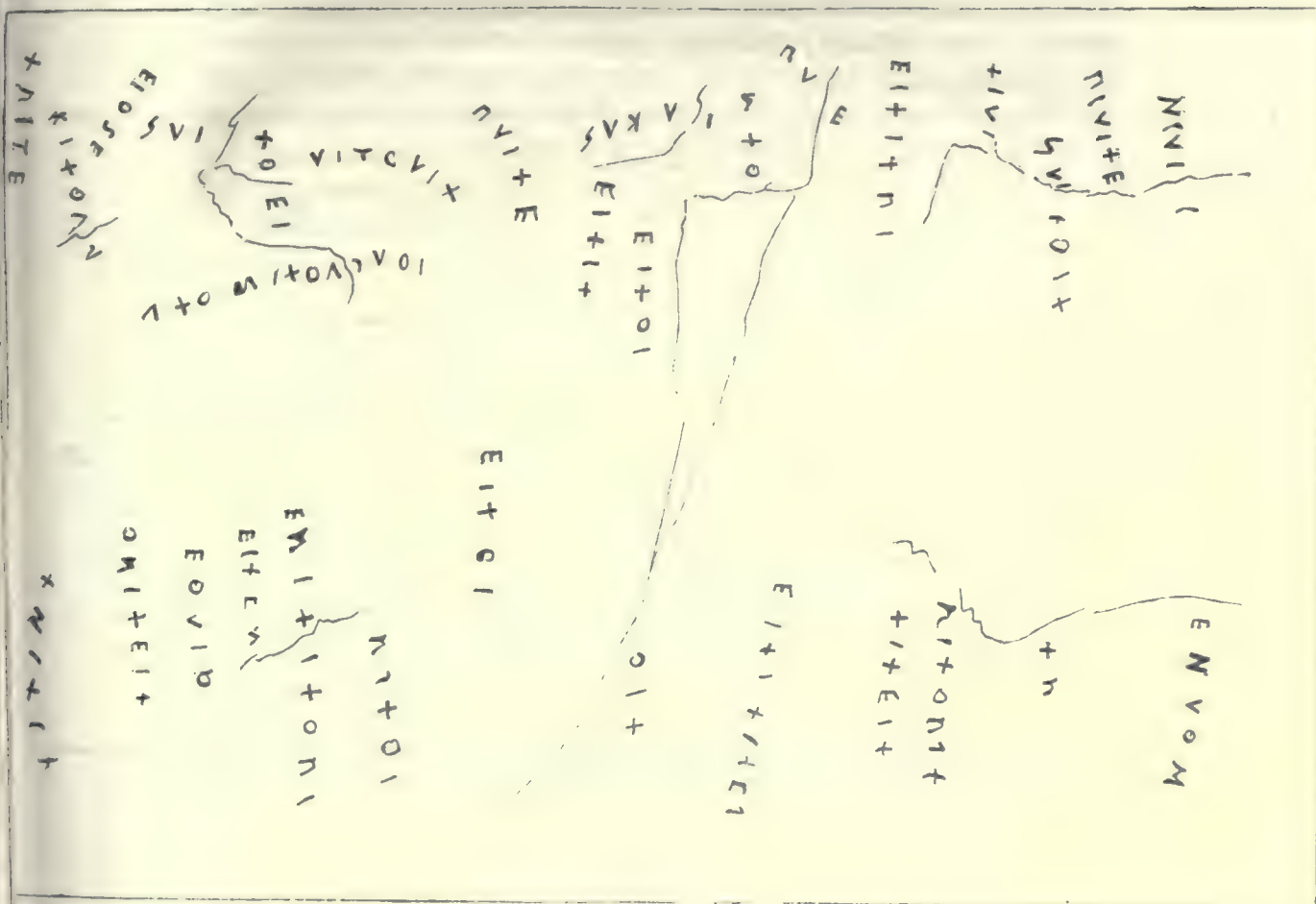


DXXXIX.

THE TRIUMPH.

8. Fragment of a middle-sized Vase, figures black. Height nine inches; circumference two palms and a half; size of the figures five inches. Represents two Warriors on horseback meeting each other; they are surrounded by six Men and two Women in various attitudes. The most diligent search to find the remaining parts of this precious monument proved unsuccessful.—*Found in the great tombs of Ninfro under Mount Cucumella. October 1828.*

Inscription :



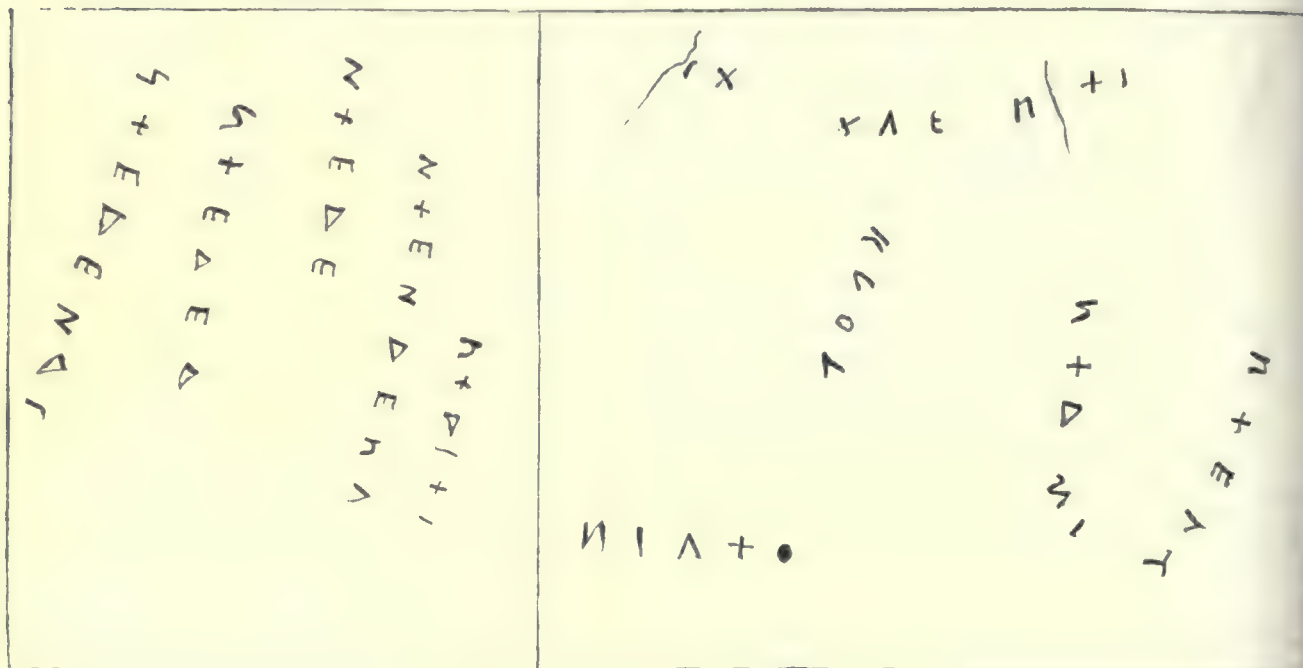
DXL.

THE BULLFIGHT.

9. Fragment of a large Vase with black figures. Height one palm; circumference three palms; size of the figures one palm. In the large picture, an old Man crowned with leaves presents himself to the Centaur Chiron, behind whom is a Woman draped, and a Biga standing still. In the small picture, two naked Athletæ are contending with

two Bulls, and between them two Men, each bearing two spears.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; January 1829.*

Inscription :



N. B. In the original are several doubtful letters.

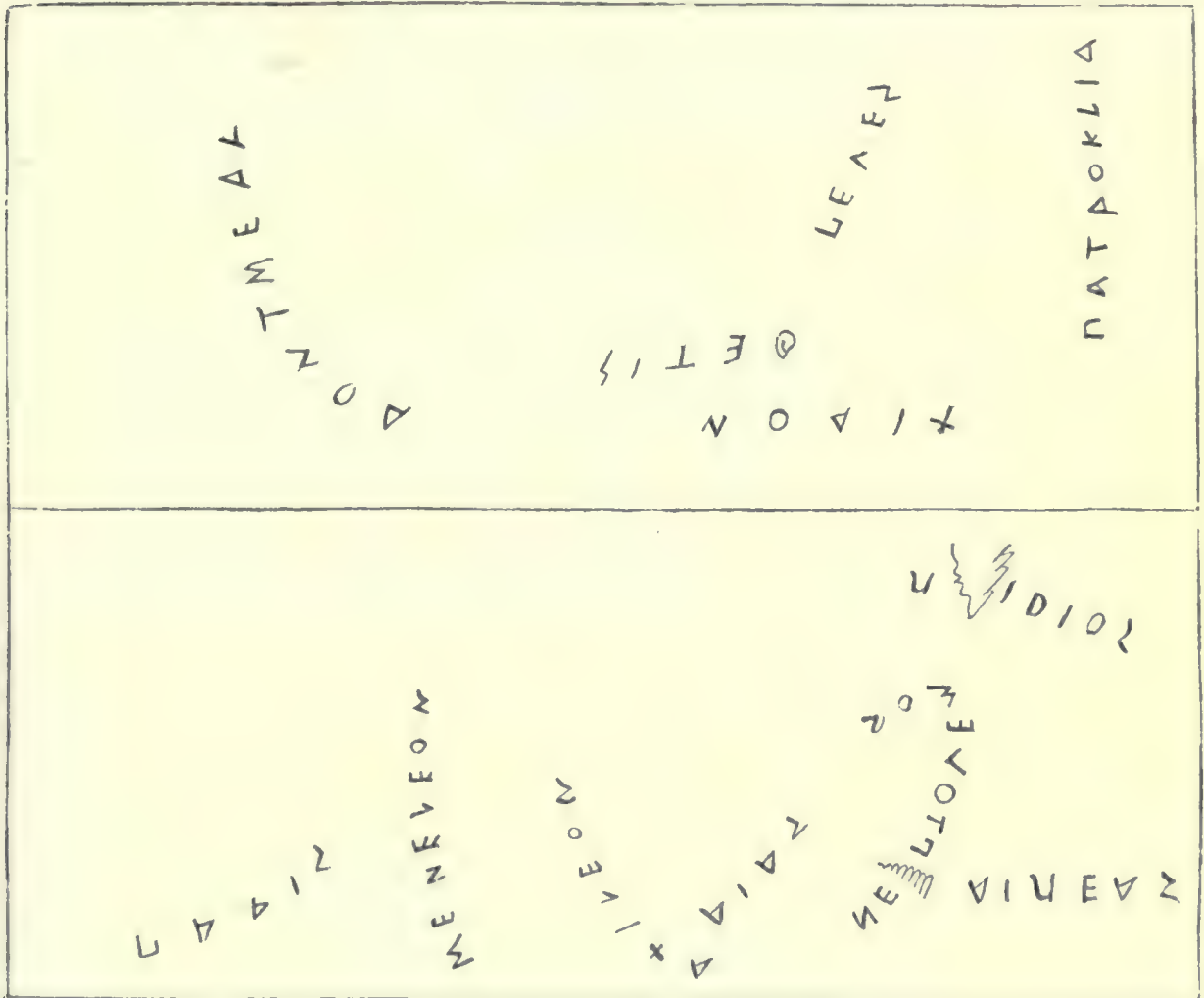
DXLIV.

THE DEATH OF ACHILLES.

10. Large Vase with two handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height three palms; circumference five palms; size of the figures ten inches. In the first picture, Ajax is supporting the naked and lifeless body of Achilles, and exciting the Greeks to the combat; on the right hand of Ajax, Neoptolemus is fighting with Æneas; on the left Menelaus with Paris; at the feet of Æneas lies Nireus; at the feet of Menelaus an Asiatic Prince. In the second picture Peleus, assisted by Chiron, is bearing off Thetis; the flames which surround Thetis,

and the two tigers springing at Peleus, allude probably to the useless struggles of the Goddess to defend herself from her ravisher. The fore feet of Chiron are human, the rest of his body that of a Centaur, and draped; behind him are seen two hares hung up on a tree; near Thetis a Nymph alarmed, in the act of flying. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; January 1829.*

Inscriptions:



On the first picture.

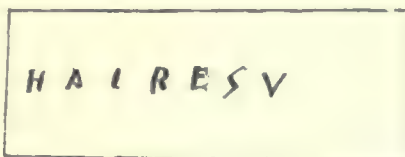
On the second.

DXLVII.

THE PRIESTESS.

11. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figure yellow. Height sixteen inches ; circumference two palms ; size of the figure eight inches. Represents a young Priestess with an amphora in her right hand and a patera in her left. The picture is complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania ; January 1829.*

Inscription :

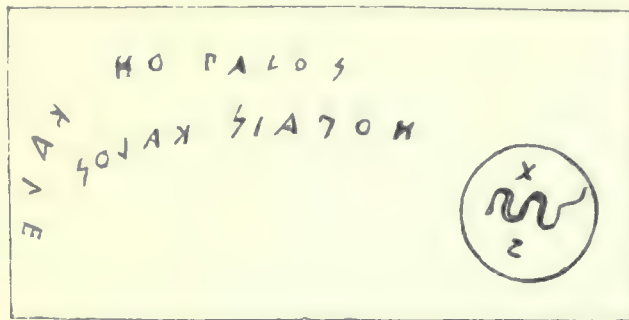


DXLIX.

THE NEMEAN LION.

12. Large Vase with three handles, figures yellow. Height two palms and two inches ; circumference six palms ; size of the figures seven inches. Represents Hercules strangling the Nemean Lion ; Minerva is seated near him : on the other side a male figure also sitting ; the tunic of Hercules is hung up on a tree ; a Warrior stands behind Minerva bearing a leaf on his shield : another Warrior, also standing, bears two dolphins on his shield. *Cucumella. The Fabian Grottoes ; February 1829.*

Inscription :

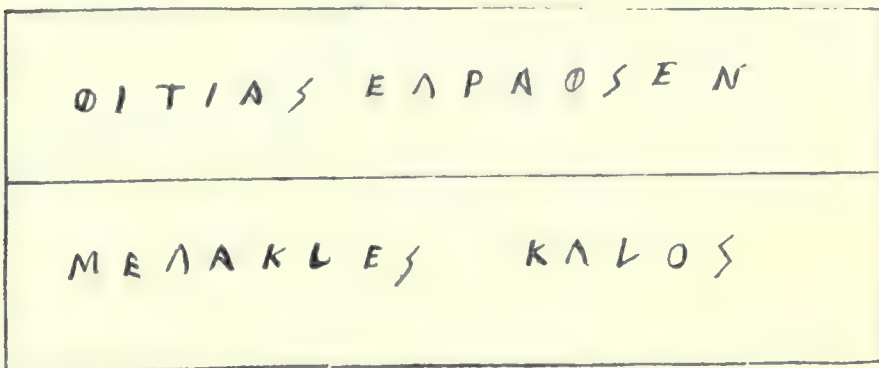


DLI.

PHITIAS.

13. Large Vase with three handles, figures yellow, two rows of paintings. Height two palms and nine inches; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm. In the upper row a Lad with a lyre, and a Man with a cup in his hand, sitting on two couches crowned with flowers. In the lower row three young Men, naked, are carrying pitchers to a fountain which flows from a lion's head; among them a Man draped, who seems to be their master; all of them are crowned with flowers; probably the representation of a scene at the feast of the Hydrophoria.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fepia; February 1829.*

Inscriptions :

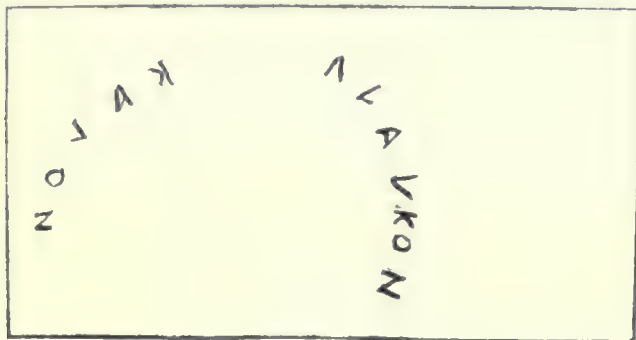


DLIII.

THE DART.

14. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figure yellow. Height one palm and three inches; circumference three palms; size of the figures nine inches. Represents a Youth wrapt in a mantle with a long dart in his right hand. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; January 1829.*

Inscription :

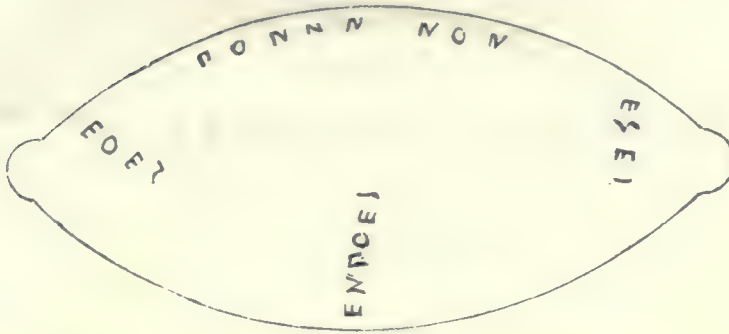


DLIV.

THE BACCHANTE.

15. Cup with a white bottom, figures yellow. Diameter eighteen inches; size of the figures eight inches. The bottom represents a Bacchante walking with a thyrsus in her right hand, and a little tiger in her left. Her hair is crowned with a serpent brandishing a double sting; this figure, painted white upon a white ground, seems to be engraved, and reminds one of the most beautiful works of Marco Antonio Raimondi. On the reverse, on one side, sits a Priest of Bacchus, a Satyr plays the tibia, whilst one Bacchante is dancing, shaking the thyrsus, and another playing the crotola; on the other side a Priestess forces back a Satyr, presenting a threatening serpent to him; two Bacchantes intoxicated, scarcely keep themselves upright. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia; December 1828.*

Inscription on the reverse :

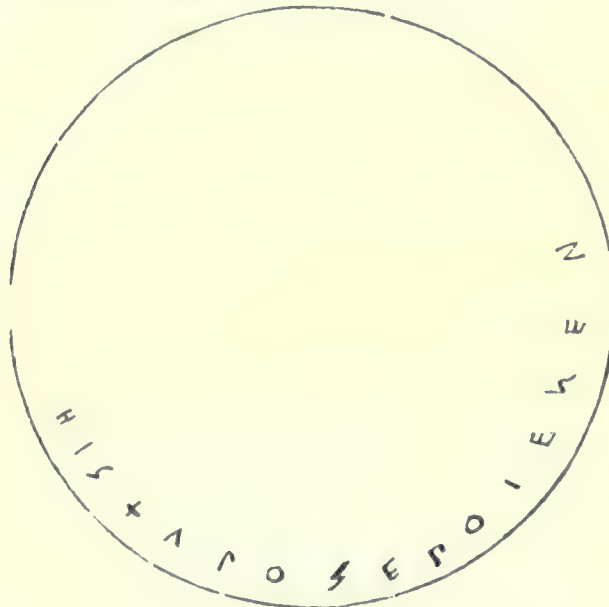


DLVIII.

THE ARCHER.

Cup with yellow figures. Diameter two palms; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom an Archer in a short flowered dress with a quiver at his side, is shooting his arrow: on the reverse, on one side, between two large eyes and two palm-trees, a naked Warrior bears a shield with a scarabæus on it; on the other side, between two palm trees, are seen four naked Youths in different postures, and amongst them a couch with coverlet and pillows. Two small pieces are wanting in the field.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; December 1828.*

Inscription in the bottom:





On the reverse.

DLIX.

THE FIVE COMBATANTS.

17. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty-two inches ; size of the figures seven inches. In the bottom a naked Satyr is sucking a full wine-skin. On the reverse, on one side, three naked Satyrs with one Woman half-naked and another draped ; on the other side, five Warriors are combating ; among these the young Hercules, with the club and lion's skin ; the companion of Hercules has a tripod on his shield ; three Warriors, with whom the two first are fighting, bear upon their shields, the first a crow, the second a horse, and the third a globe. Two pieces are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca ; December 1828.*

Inscription on the reverse :

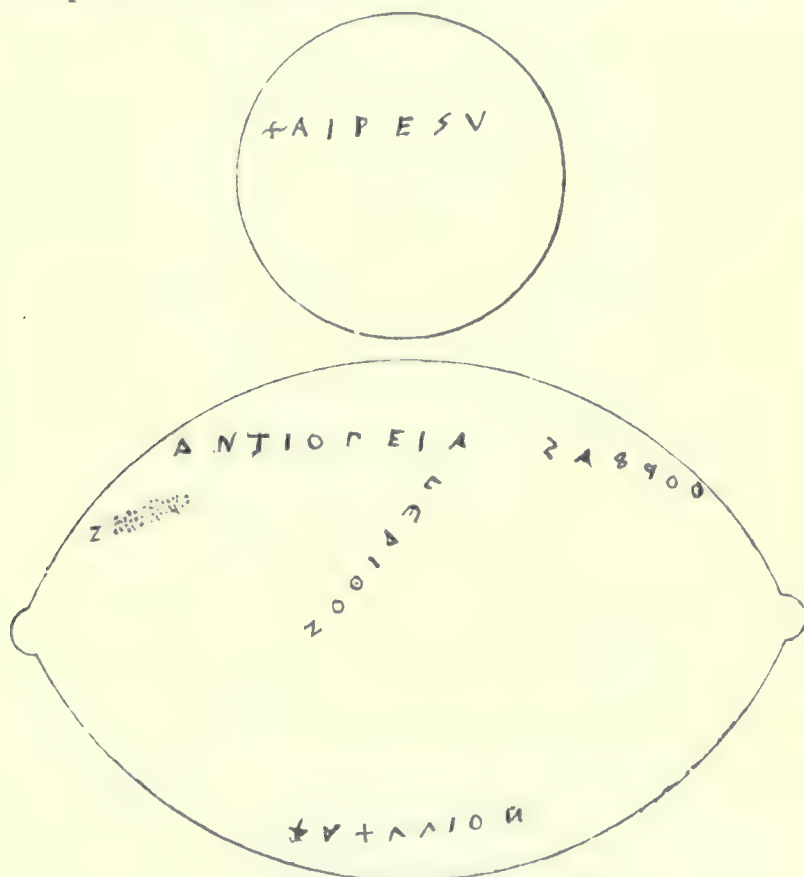


DLX.

ANTIOPE.

18. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a Man with a harp in his hand seems to be teaching a young Woman to sing. On the reverse, on one side, Castor and Pollux on horseback, and between them a Youth and a Woman draped; on the other side, Theseus is bearing off Antiope, who is still standing in her car with her bow in her hand; two armed Warriors follow the quadriga. Several pieces are wanting, and the foot of the cup.—*Doganella; October 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



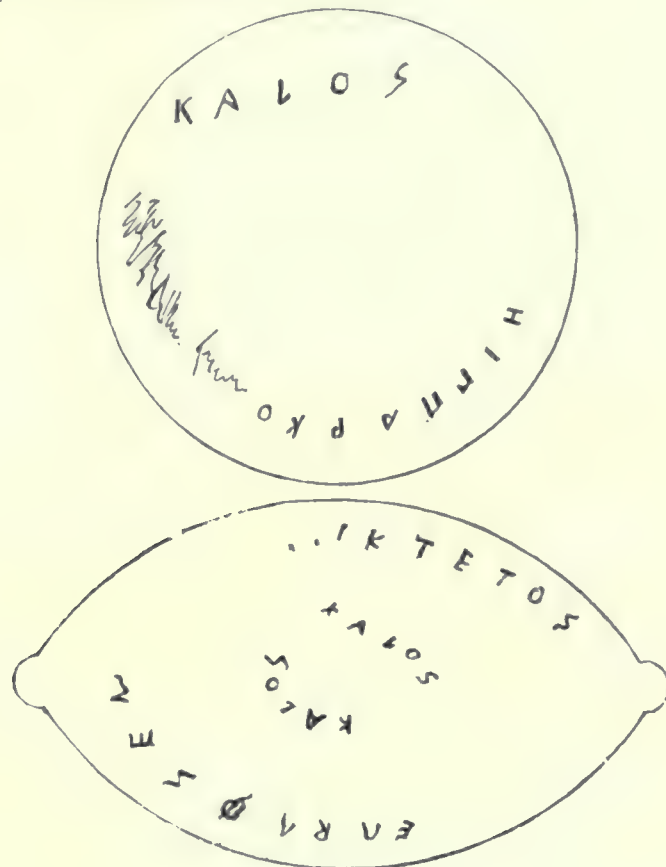
On the reverse.

DLXI.

THE DEAD WARRIOR.

19. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a Woman playing the harp; on the reverse, on one side, seven Bacchantes in different postures, each with a thyrsus; on the other side, eight Warriors are fighting and another lies dead upon the ground; three of the warriors bear upon their shields an anchor; the other three have a serpent, a crow, and a dog. The foot of the cup and various other pieces are wanting.—*Doganella*; October 1828.

Inscription on the bottom :



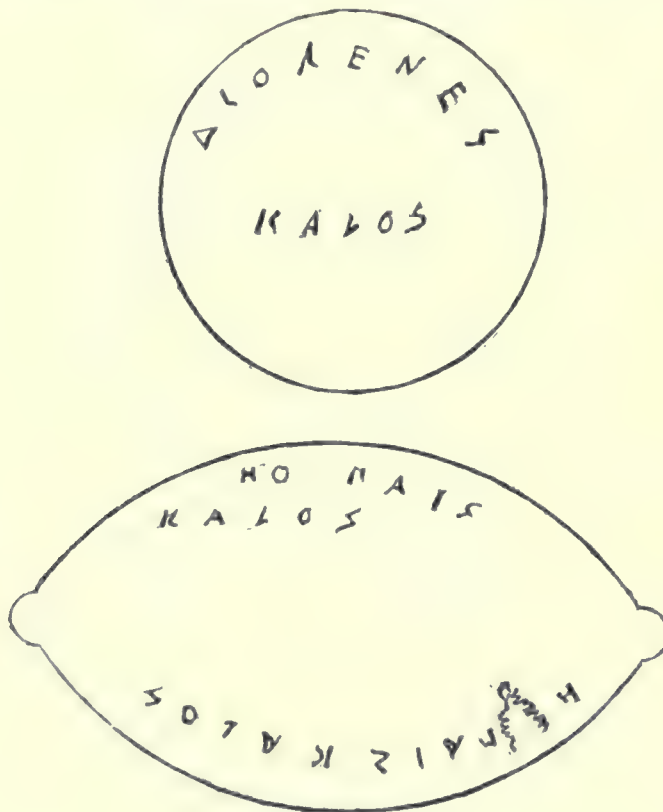
On the reverse.

DLXII.

THE GYMNASIUM.

20. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures ten inches. In the bottom the Master of the Gymnasium with a staff and a rod in his hand, seems to be scolding a naked Youth; on the reverse, on each side, is seen the Master superintending the different exercises of four young Athletæ. A head is wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; December 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



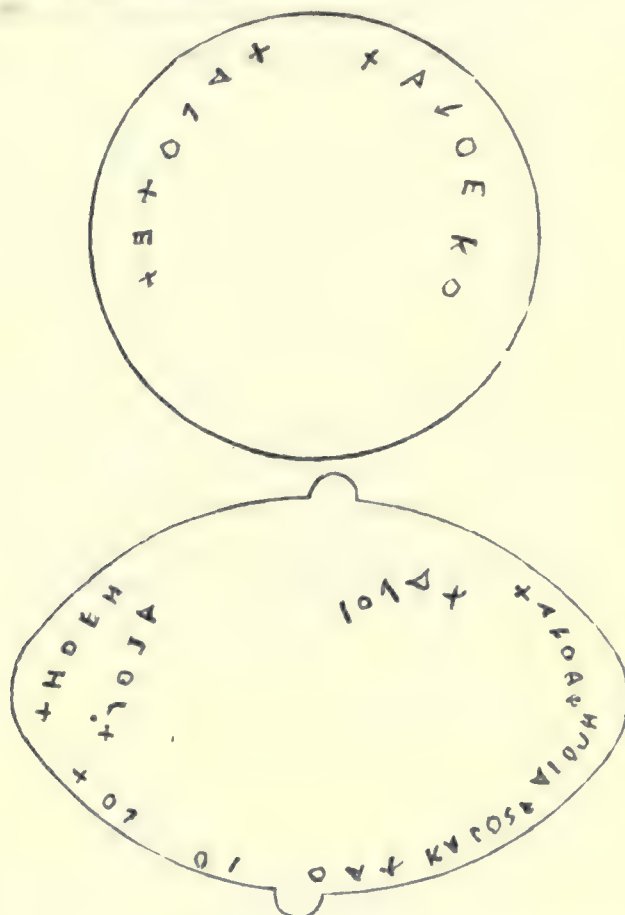
On the reverse.

DLXIV.

HERCULES AND THE CENTAURS.

22. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a Minister of Bacchus, naked, with an amphora and a cup in his hands; on the reverse, Hercules seated in the midst of Centaurs, who are drinking. Several pieces wanting.—*Doganella; October 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.

DLXV.

THE ALTAR OF BACCHUS.

23. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty-one inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a Priest listening to a Satyr playing on the tibia; on the reverse is seen the Altar of Bacchus with the Idol adorned with sacred offerings and wrapt in a rich mantle; eleven Bacchantes with the thyrsus, in different postures, and agitated, surround the altar; one of these plays the tibia. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; December 1828.*

Inscription cut under one of the handles :

HIERONE MOEZEN

DLXVII.

THE FLIGHT OF ÆNEAS.

24. Cup with black figures. Diameter twenty-five inches; size of the figures five inches. In the bottom a Gorgon's head. On the reverse four large eyes compose the ornament; between these, on one side, a Warrior endeavours to separate two others who are fighting; and on the other side, Æneas is flying with Ascanius, bearing his father Anchises on his shoulders. Several pieces wanting.—*Doganella; October 1828.*

Inscription on the reverse :

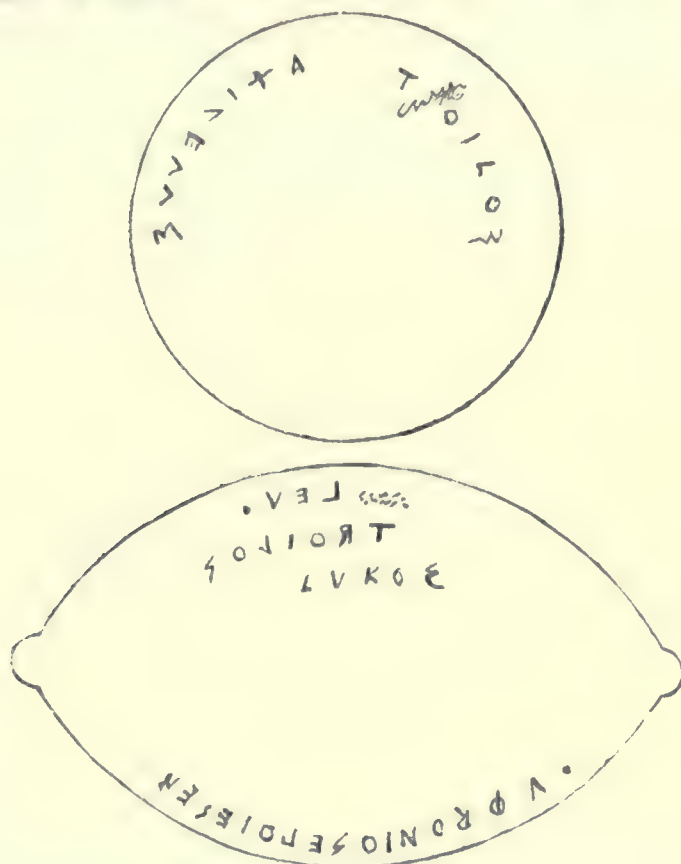
NIKOSΘENES EPOISEN

DLXVIII.

TROILUS AT THE ALTAR.

25. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom Achilles holding the young Troilus by the hair, is slaying him upon the altar. On the reverse, on one side, the same scene is repeated with some variations ; two horses are near Achilles ; on the other side, four Warriors are arming themselves. Several pieces wanting.—*Doganella ; October 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



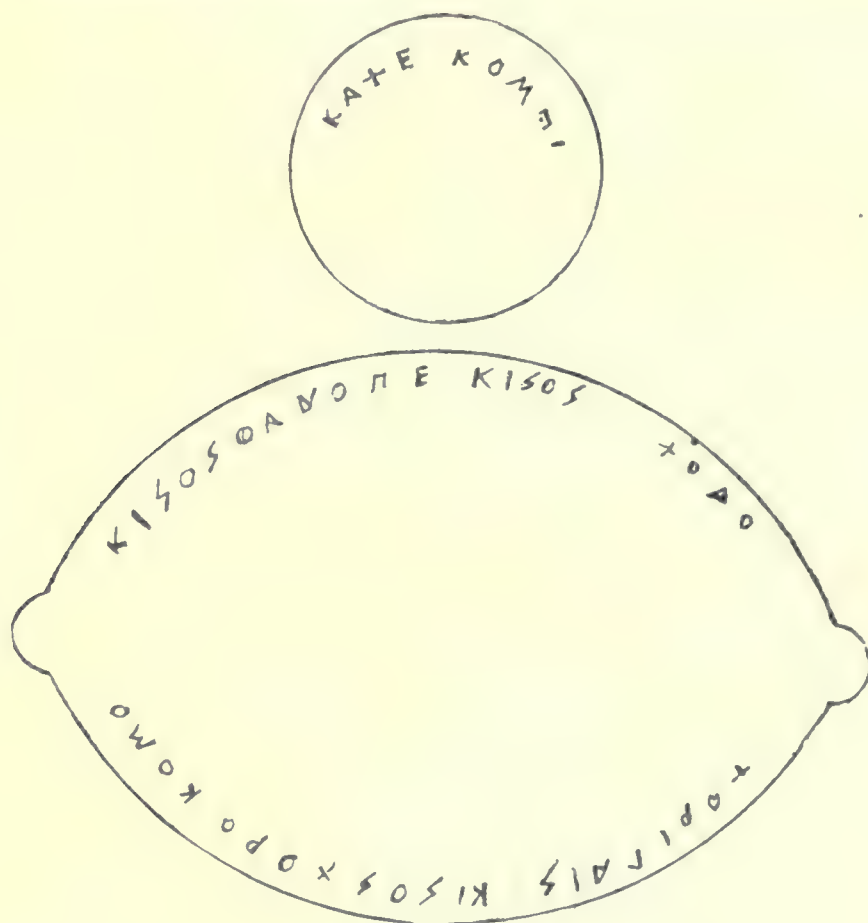
On the reverse.

DLXIX.

THE COVERED HANDS.

26. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter seventeen inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a naked Satyr is discoursing with a young Bacchante draped, leaning on her thyrsus. On the reverse the two pictures represent each three Satyrs and two Women dancing; a young Woman clothed in a white tunick is seen in each picture, with long sleeves that cover her hands; one Satyr is playing the tibia, and another the harp. A few pieces wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; January 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.

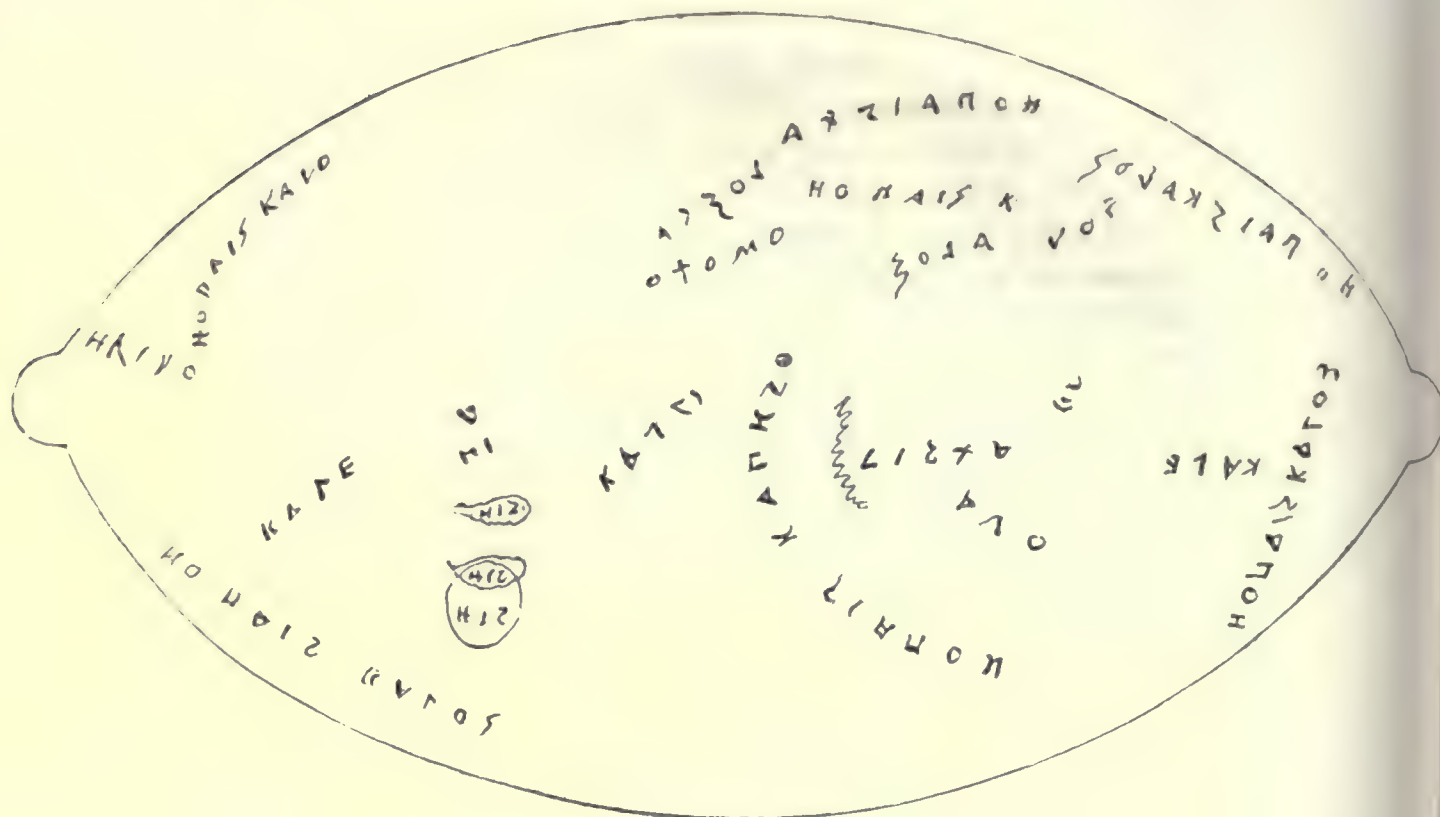
DLXXI.

THE STAG-HUNT.

27. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a seller of crotala. On the reverse, on one side, a Master superintending the gymnastic exercises of four naked Athletæ; a Woman draped is playing the tibia: the Master has his hand on the cheek of one of the Athletæ as if caressing him. On the other side a Stag-hunt; two young Men are riding at full speed, and two others are following them on foot; on a tree a Falcon with its wings extended; a Greyhound has come up with the Stag and stopped it. Two small pieces wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Larthia; January 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :





On the reverse.

DLXXII.

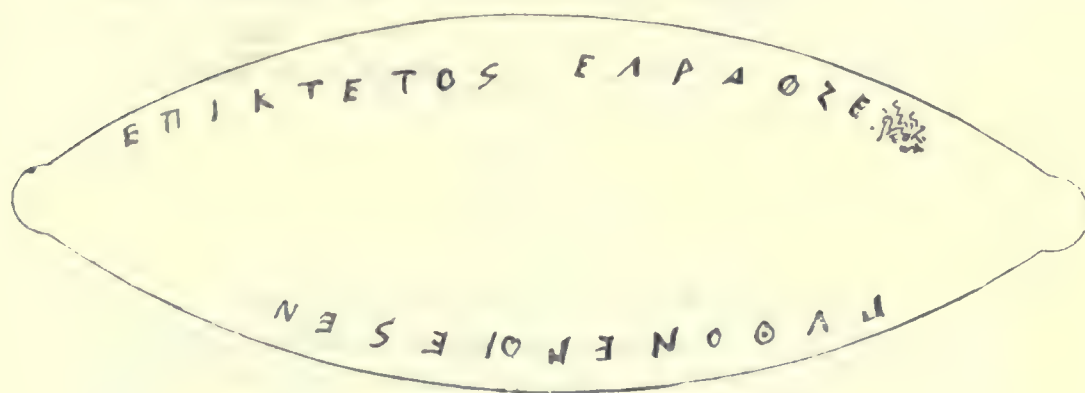
THE DEATH OF BUSIRIS.

28. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a Female almost naked playing the crotala dances with a young Man who is playing on the double tibia. On the reverse, on one side, a King, with a diadem on his head, is reclining on his couch; a Youth is standing by ready to supply him with drink; at the two sides upon two other couches are two Men, one of whom is holding a full cup in his hand, the other is looking at a female player on the tibia, standing opposite to him. On the other

side, Busiris is seen extended at the foot of the altar, and drenched in blood ; Hercules seizes him by the throat with his left hand, and with his right lifts his club in order to dispatch him ; four attendants of Busiris are flying in alarm ; one of these has a weapon in his hand ; the other has let fall his lyre. A few pieces in one picture wanting.—

Cavalupo. Fam. Apia ; January 1829.

Inscription on the reverse :



DLXXV.

THE AMPHORA.

29. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eleven inches ; size of the figure six inches. The reverse is black and without any painting. The bottom represents a young Minister of Bacchus, who holds an Amphora in his hands and bends one of his knees ; his head is crowned with ivy. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia ; January 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



DLXXVIII.

THE EQUILIBRIUM.

30. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eleven inches ; size of the figures six inches. The reverse is without any painting. The bottom represents a young Man with a mantle upon his shoulders, holding an amphora with his right hand, and balancing a large cup on his left arm. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia ; December 1828.*

Inscription on the bottom :



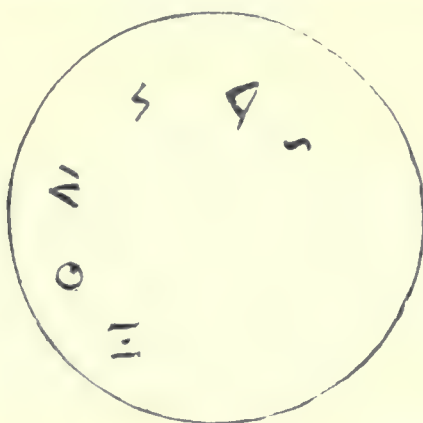
N. B. The original has exactly *elrasphen*, and not *elraphsen*, as usual.

DLXXXII.

THE AMAZONS.

31. A Diota with yellow figures. Height eight inches ; diameter eleven inches ; size of the figures five inches. In the first picture a young Warrior on foot attacks an Amazon who is standing in a quadriga. In the second picture a Woman stops a second Amazon who is standing in another quadriga. A few pieces wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; January 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture upon the warrior's shield :



DLXXXV.

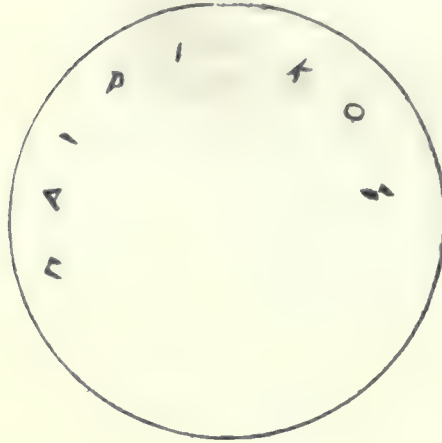
THE WARRIOR.

32. Bottom of a Cup with a yellow figure. Diameter six inches ; size of the figure six inches. Represents a young Warrior, naked, with a helmet on his head, and a spear and shield in his hands ; he is stooping, with one knee on the ground, and seems to be waiting for the enemy ; reverse black. The painting is complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; January 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :

VOL. XXIII.

2 c



DCCXCII.

THE TUSCAN SHIPS.

33. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches; size of the figures ten inches. The bottom represents a young Man half naked, who is lifting a jar; four Ships adorn the inner rim; on board of each is seen one sailor only; several dolphins are sporting around, the symbol of the Tuscans. On the reverse four Figures, half-naked, are dancing round some wine-jars. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; February 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :





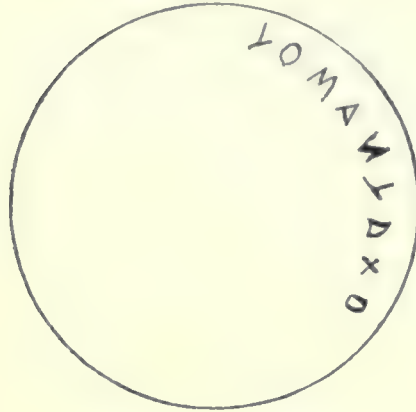
On the reverse.

DCCXCV.

THE QUARREL.

34. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter two palms; size of the figures one palm. In the bottom a Man with a cup in his hand, half-naked, is leaning on a couch; before him a young Man is standing playing the double tibia. On the reverse, on one side, is seen a quarrel between a Man holding a lyre, and a Youth who is raising a whip; four young Men in different postures are looking on at the quarrel; on the other side are six Figures draped.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; January 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



DCCXCVIII.

HERCULES AND THE AMAZONS.

35. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm and half; size of the figures seven inches. In the bottom a young Warrior, naked, in the act of putting on his sandals. On the reverse Hercules is fighting with three Amazons on one side, and on the other is seen a Quadriga driven by a Warrior.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; *February* 1829.

Inscription on the bottom :



N. B. The Two *m*'s of Memmnnon are in the original.



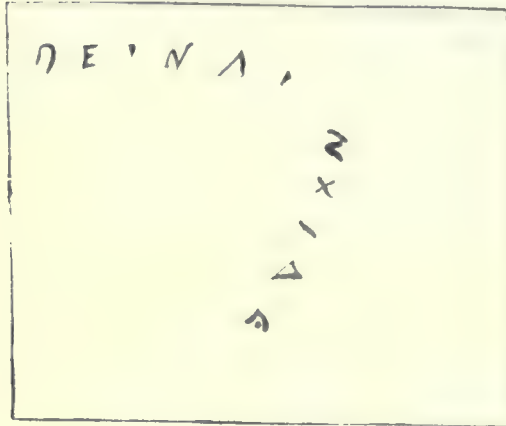
Inscription on the reverse.

DCCCVI.

PRIAM AND ACHILLES.

36. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height three palms; circumference five palms and a half; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture an old Man is bowing himself down before a Youth; both have a wreath on their head; behind the young man are seen Minerva and Mercury; at their feet is a shield and a tripod; behind the old man, who is kneeling, stands an Attendant under a portico, with two spears on his shoulder, and behind him a Woman is contemplating the scene, with tokens of admiration; it seems to be Priam at the feet of Achilles. In the second picture three Women in rich mantles armed with two lances are mounting three horses, between which are seen two greyhounds. Uninjured.—*Poggio Marucheto; February 1829.*

Inscription :



N. B. The two points of this inscription are in the original.

DCCCVII.

THE FOOT-RACE.

37. Large Vase with two handles, figures black. Height three palms and a half; circumference six palms and a half; size of the figures one palm. On one side four young *Athletæ* are running for the prize; on the other side, *Minerva* with her spear erect bears on her shield leaves and flowers of hellebore; on each side of *Minerva* is a column surmounted with a cock. Uninjured.—*Poggio Marucheto*; February 1829.

ΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΕ

Inscription on the first picture :

ΝΟΝΟΑΝΘΕΝΗΟΕΛΕΝΗΟΤ

On the second.

N. B. The same inscription as that on the first picture is read upon Vases N°. 526, 545, 1114, 1193, 1202, 1430, 1636, 1766, 1767 ; on all of which Minerva is seen thus arranged, between two pillars and two cocks, but with different devises on her shield. Fragments of many other similar vases have been found in these excavations which have most commonly this inscription, and it will be no longer said that these vases came from Athens, as if Athens had given its name to Minerva instead of having received it from her, and as if the ancient Tuscans had not worshipped Minerva before Athens was founded.

DCCCXXIX.

THE SHIP OF ULYSSES.

38. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture the ship of Ulysses is passing under the promontory of the Syrens; Ulysses is tied to the mast of the ship; the sailors seem deaf to his cries; three Syrens, in the form of birds with the faces of women, are standing on the point of the rocks and fruitlessly inviting the hero, who seems impatient to be set free from his bonds. In the other picture three Winds, in human shape, with wings; one is holding in his hands a hare, symbol of swiftness; another is holding a riband interwoven with flowers, symbol of Zephyrus; the third, with a threatening air holds a broad band in his hands. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; February 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture :



On the second picture.

MIII.

THE POET.

39. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white. Height three palms and a half; circumference six palms; size of the figures fourteen inches. In the first picture a Poet crowned with ivy and bay is holding in his hand a lyre, and with his head raised to Heaven is singing in an attitude of inspiration; another Poet is listening to him and is lowering his lyre as if in deference to the great master of song; three other Figures complete the scene; one of these is dancing and playing the crotala, another is playing the double tibia; possibly Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, or more probably, the supreme Homer may be here represented. In the second picture Hercules is standing on his quadriga with Iolaus his companion; Minerva on foot near the chariot is speaking to the hero; Mercury is standing before the horses.

Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; February 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture :

On the second :

IOLEOZ KEPAKIE~ NEPM EZ AGENALIA KALOZ	MILITO S TELOKLES ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ XPETHES MOSAN
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MIV.

THE AUGUR.

40. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms and four inches; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture an Augur with a long beard, crowned with flowers and wrapt in his mantle, leaning on the augural staff. In the other picture a young Woman is playing the double tibia; a double string passes above and below her lips; she is drest in a chequered outer garment, ending with deep fringe. Uninjured.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; February 1829.

Inscription on the first picture :



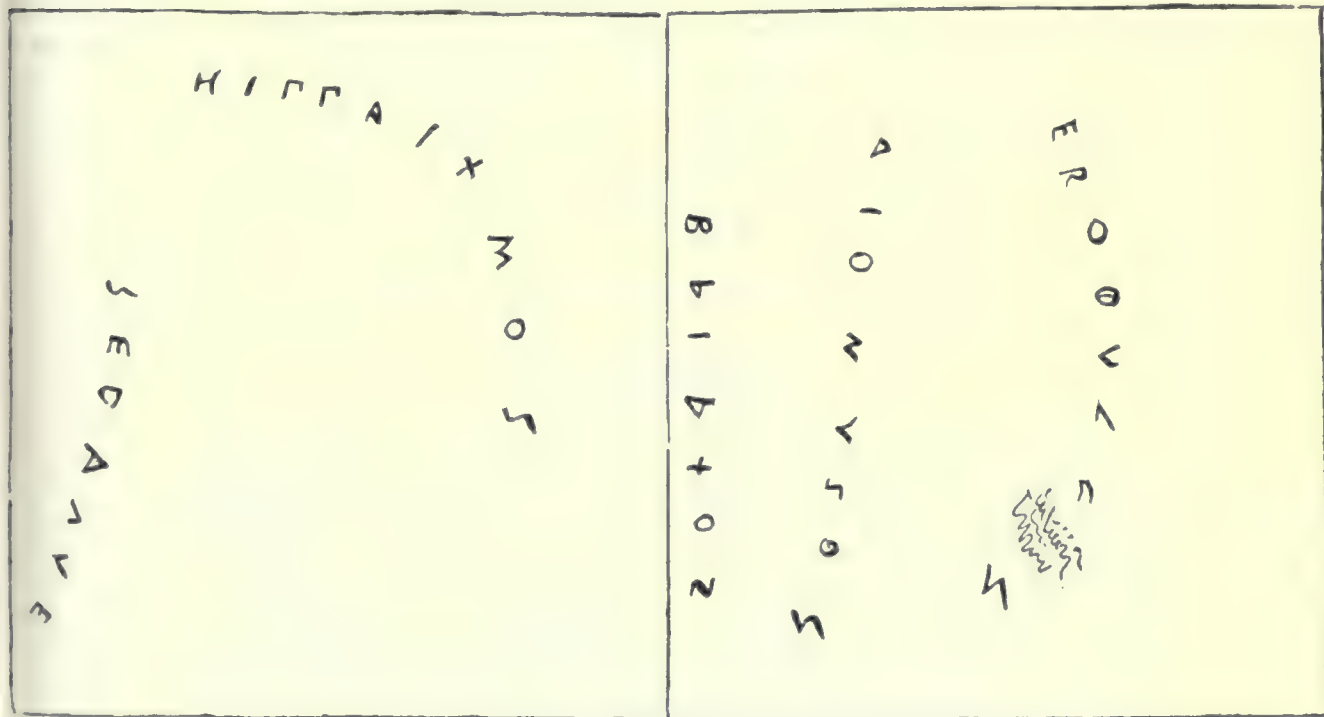
N. B. In the original the eleventh letter is doubtful between L and V, and the twelfth between E, K, and R.

MV.

ÆNEAS.

41. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms and a half; circumference six palms; size of the figures fourteen inches. In the first picture is seen a young Warrior, with a helmet on his head, covered with a large shield that bears a lion on it; he is attended by an Archer, and is holding by the bridle a spirited Horse: a Warrior with a similar device on his shield is called Æneas in cup N^o. 44. In the second picture, Bacchus crowned with ivy, with a diota and vine-leaf in his hands, is standing between a Satyr and a Bacchante, who with her left hand is holding a thyrsus reversed, and with her right a serpent. The pictures are complete. *Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; February 1829.*

Inscription :

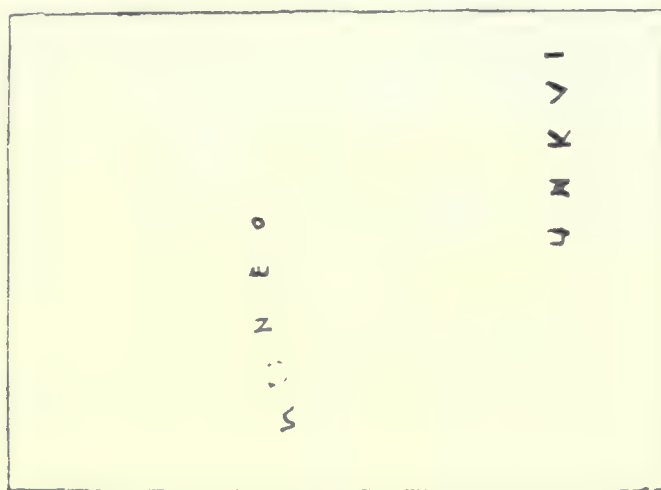


MXVII.

THE REPOSE OF HERCULES.

42. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures eight inches. One painting only, which, going round the vase, represents Hercules seated upon the trunk of a tree; nine birds are upon the branches; two cows suckling their calves are near the hero, and in the midst of them a quadruped. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; March 1829.*

Inscription:



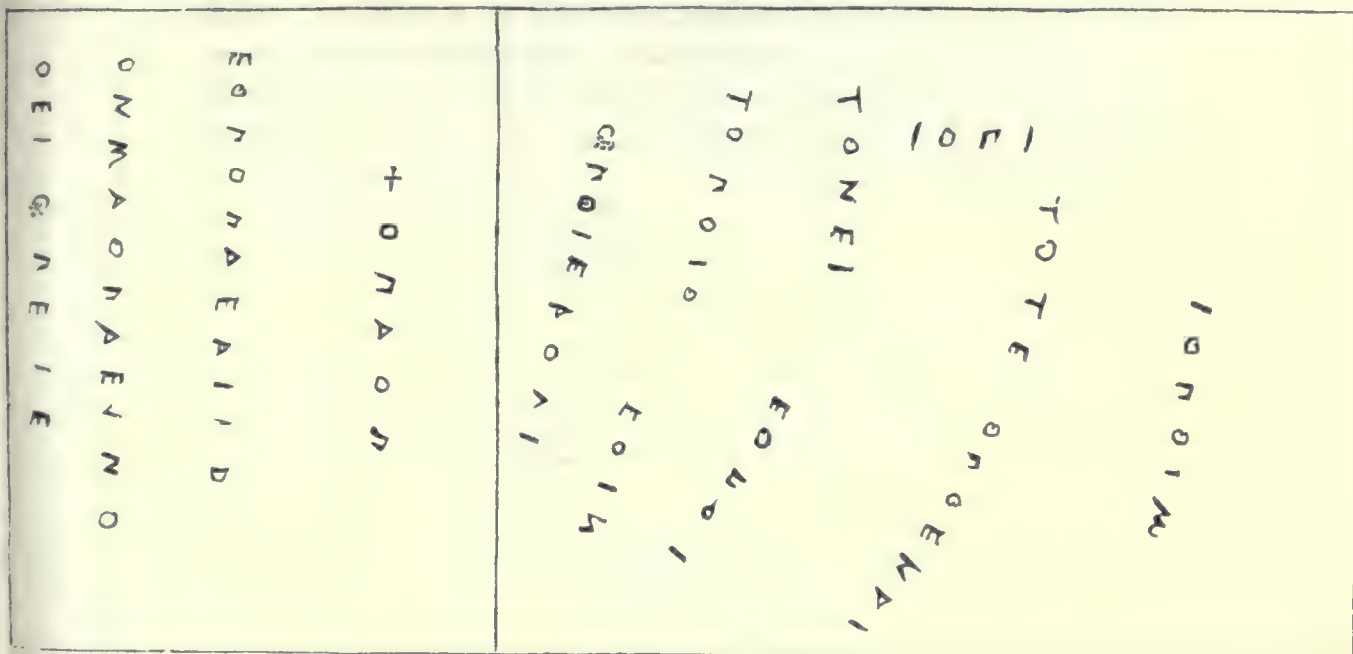
MCXII.

HECTOR.

43. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms and four inches; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm and two inches. In the first picture, Hector armed is setting out to fight with Achilles; he bears a serpent on his shield: a Molossian dog is at his feet; opposite to him an Asiatic warrior with a bow and an axe in his hands, seems to hasten his departure; behind the hero an old Man, wrapt up in his mantle, is leaning his head on his right

hand in a melancholy attitude, and seems to augur ill of the result of the combat. In the other picture, Apollo is playing the harp in the midst of two draped Figures, who are listening to him. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Fesia; February 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture : On the second picture :



MCXX.

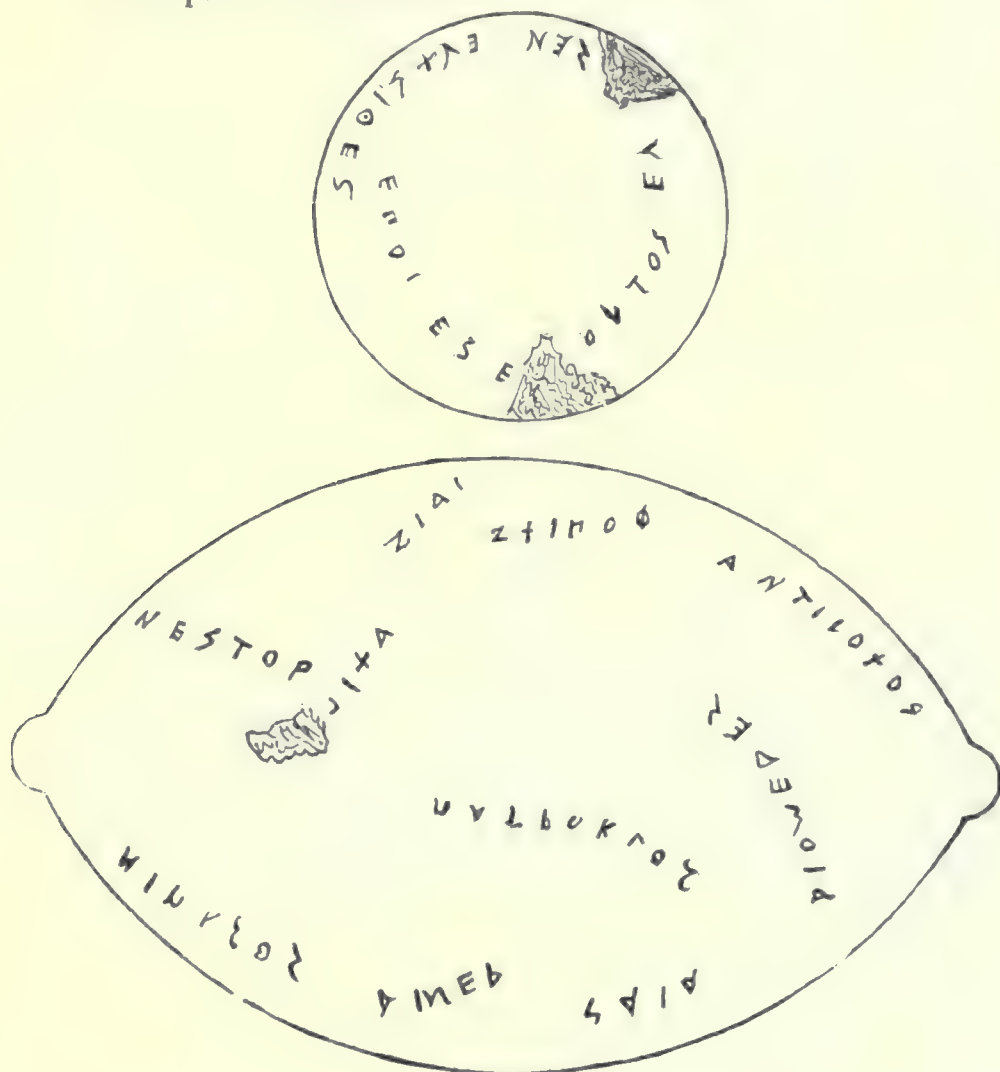
THE DEATH OF PATROCLUS.

44. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter two palms ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom Æneas carries a dart in his right hand, and in his left bears a lance and a shield on which is seen a lion. On the reverse, on one side Patroclus is lying upon the ground stript and expiring ; Ajax and Diomedes are protecting his body against Æneas and another Warrior : on the other side, Achilles is giving his hand to the old Nestor, in token of his reconciliation to the Greeks, and is preparing to avenge Patroclus ; behind Achilles is seen his quadriga

mounted by Phoenix and Antilochus, and preceded by Iris. A few pieces of the ornaments and of the lower part of two figures are wanting. This cup is precious for its workmanship, and still more so, because it represents various heroes with their names, and their shields with the devices they bore; amongst these, Achilles is distinguished by a polypus, Æneas by a lion, and Antilochus by a wild-boar. Thus also, in vase N^o. 15, Neoptolemus is distinguished by two doves; in vase N^o. 6, Deiphobus by a bull's-head; in vase N^o. 4, Hector by a serpent.

Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; March 1819.

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.

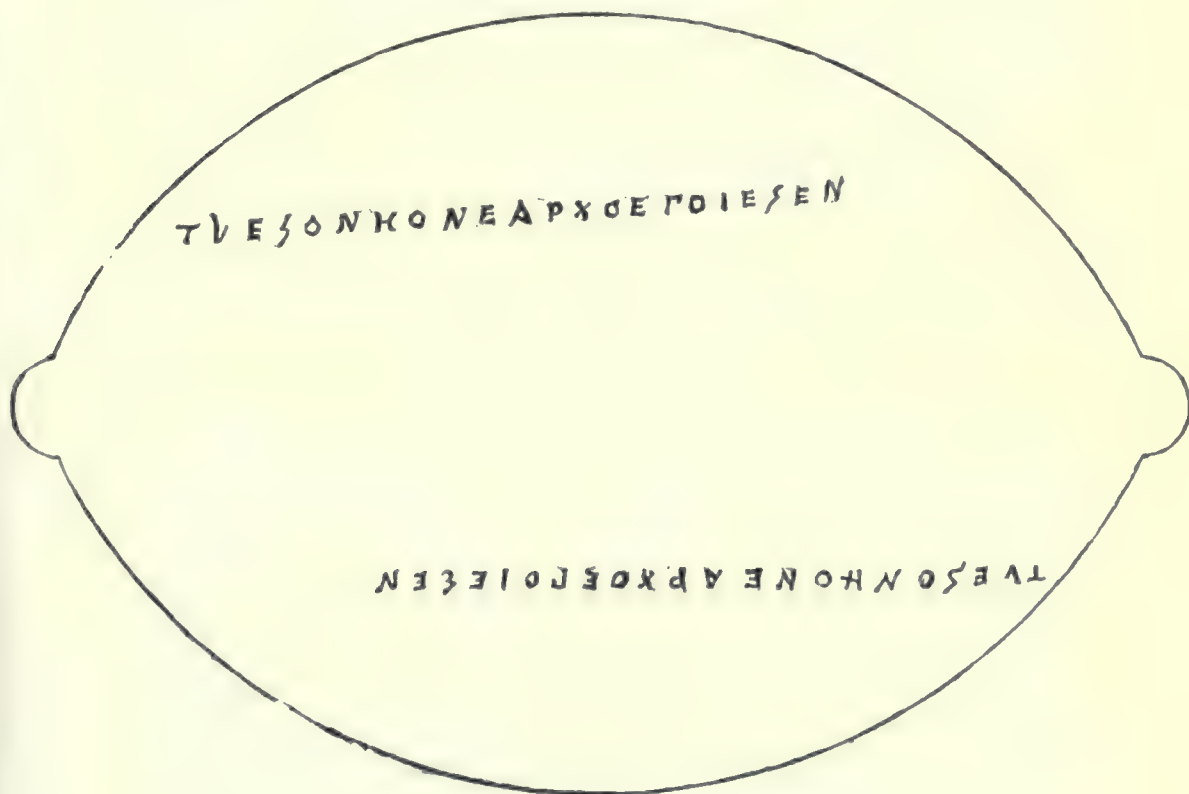
N. B. In the word Phoenix the vowel of the first syllable is doubtful between E and O.

MCXLVI.

THE CENTAUR.

45. Cup with black figures. Diameter one palm. The bottom represents a Centaur; the reverse without any painting. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; February 1829.*

Inscription on the reverse:



MCLXXXI.

THE WRESTLING.

46. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures eleven inches. In the first picture two groups of naked Athletæ are wrestling; between them is seen a vase, probably the prize intended for the victor; a young Woman with long tresses, covered with a single mantle richly adorned, holds in her right hand a staff, and in her left a flower, at which she seems to be smelling; she observes the contest as if to award the prize. In the other picture is represented the celebrated dispute between Hercules and Apollo for the sacred tripod, Minerva armed is standing behind Hercules, and Diana behind Apollo. Uninjured.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; *March* 1829.

Inscription in the foot :

ANAKIAESEPOESEN

MCLXXXII.

THE ARTEMISIAN DIANA.

47. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms and two inches; circumference six palms and four inches; size of the figures one palm and two inches. On one side is represented the dispute between Hercules and Apollo for the sacred tripod; the two figures are naked; behind Hercules, Pallas, with her lance lowered, is holding the helmet in her left hand; behind Apollo the Artemisian Diana is drawing an arrow from her quiver; she is clad in a rich cloak, and has her head covered with the Phrygian pileus adorned with a diadem: on the other side is seen a Warrior covered with his armour; he is putting on his helmet with his right hand, and with his left is supporting a shield on which is painted a crab; opposite to him an Asiatic archer; between them a Molossian dog in repose; and behind

an old Man draped. Chipped in a few places.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fe-
pia; March 1829.*

Inscription :

On the first picture :

On the second picture :

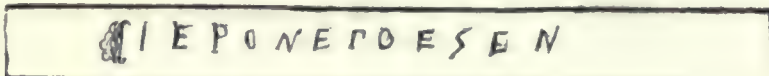
APTE M I 4 A V O N DE + I O I ADENAI A PALOH	K L S I VE + I O N + + E + N I O + E + O N E + V E I O N + I O + N E S I
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MCLXXXIII.

THE RAPE OF THETIS.

48. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom Hercules, seated on a rock under the shade of a tree, presents a diota to Minerva, who fills it ; the club of the hero is laid on the ground, and the helmet of Minerva is upon another rock. On the reverse, Peleus is bearing off Thetis, although a lion is endeavouring to tear him from his prey ; four Women draped surround the couple in different attitudes of alarm ; two of them are holding a dolphin in their hands. On the other side a Priest (perhaps Chryses) is taking to his arms his Daughter, whom he presses to his bosom ; four Women regard the scene. It is to be remarked, that the handle which bears the inscription did not belong to this cup, but was

fitted to it in ancient times; the points of the ancient restoration are visible, and although the handle fits perfectly, the hellebore leaves on the cup join on to two parts of figures.^a.



MCLXXXIV.

THE THREE GANYMEDES.

49. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches; size of the figures nine inches. In the bottom a Male figure with only a mantle on his shoulders, is holding in his right hand a cup and in his left a crooked staff. The reverse represents six Men half-extended upon festal couches, and between them three naked Ganymedes with amphoræ in their hands, in attendance upon them. A small piece of the field wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom:



^a "E benché il manico combaggi perfettamente le foglie di elleboro della coppa corrispondono a due parti di figure."

Being unable to give a translation of this passage satisfactory to myself, I have thought it best to translate it word for word. I apprehend that attached to the handle fitted on to the cup in question, was a piece of the cup to which it had formerly belonged; that on this piece are two figures, or parts of figures, and that the hellebore-leaves on the cup, instead of being met by similar leaves on the restoration or patch, join on to these imperfect figures.

On the reverse :



Under the foot.

MCLXXXV.

THE SACRED MEAT.

50. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches ; size of the figures nine inches. In the bottom, a young Minister of Pallas is holding in his hands two pieces of sacrificial meat fixed on two spits, one of which he is extending over the fire of the altar ; a serpent indicates the altar of Pallas ; an earthen cup for sacrifices (*simpulum*) and a third spit, are hung up behind the altar. On the reverse ten young Men, naked and crowned with flowers, are holding amphoræ and drinking-horns in their hands. One head is wanting, and a few pieces of the field.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Lartia ; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse:



MCLXXXVI.

THE DEATH OF ÆGISTHUS.

51. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty-two inches; size of the figures ten inches. In the bottom a Satyr is holding in his right hand a drinking-horn, and in his left a wine-skin. On the reverse is seen a Man extended on the ground; a young Man seizes him by the hair, and with a naked sword is in the act of striking the blow; a Woman with a mantle is holding back the weapon; behind her another Woman is running up in a frantic state, extending her left hand towards the scene, and raising a mace with her right; at the foot of the fallen person is seen another young Man who seems to encourage his companion to strike the blow. It represents probably Ægisthus slain by Orestes, and in vain defended by Clytemnestra; the other two figures are supposed to be Pylades and Electra. On the other side, two Warriors are

fighting with the lance; a crow is visible on the shield of one of the combatants; at their feet are seen two Warriors, who are suspending the sword over a hare and a wild boar, awaiting the issue of the fight before they slay the victim; three other Warriors terminate the picture. Half a figure is wanting, and a few other pieces.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse :



MCLXXXVII.

THE PURPLE BAND.

52. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm; size of the figures eight inches. The reverse is without any painting. In the bottom a young Man extended on a couch, is holding in his hands a long purple band; his lyre is hung up near him; it is to be remarked, that the face is painted in full.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom:



MCCLXIII.

THE CROTOLA.

53. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter one palm; size of the figures six inches. Reverse without any painting. In the bottom a Woman draped, with the Crotola in her hands. Complete.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Ania; March 1829.*



MCCCLXXVIII.

THE TWO ALTARS.

54. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first picture a High Priest, with a patera in his right hand and a sceptre in his left, is standing between two flaming altars; on each side is a Priestess, one of whom bears two lighted torches, the other an amphora, from which she pours the sacred liquor upon one of the altars. In the other picture a Divinity crowned with bay, with a sceptre in the left hand and a jewelled cup in the right, is sitting upon a winged chariot; behind the chariot, is seen a half column; a Priestess pours from an amphora some liquor into the cup of the Divinity, and holds three ears of corn in her other hand; another Priestess behind the chariot is raising with both her hands a crown of flowers. Two large palm-trees divide the two pictures. Uninjured.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Minuca; March 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture:

K A L O S F A

On the second:

K A L O S
A
L O S

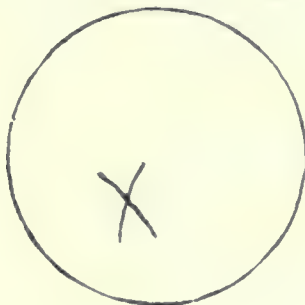
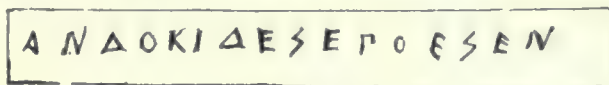
MCCCLXXXI.

VENUS CITHARÆDA.

55. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm. In the

first picture, upon a pedestal with two steps, is seen an image of Venus, her hair crowned with myrtle, in the act of playing the cithara; two Damsels richly draped, their garments flowered in the Asiatic fashion, are on each side of the Goddess; they bear in their hands pomegranate flowers; the staves on which they rest show them to be travellers. In the other picture, two armed Warriors are fighting with the lance; one of these bears upon his shield a scorpion, and on his helmet a wolf; between them Mercury is raising his caduceus in order to end the fight; Pallas armed, holds in her left hand a pomegranate flower. Uninjured. *Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; March 1829.*

Inscription on the foot:



MCCCLXXXVI.

THE ARMS OF PARIS.

56. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm and two inches. In the first picture Paris is standing between Priam and Hecuba; he listens with confusion to the discourse of Priam, and has already again put on a part of his armour; near him stands a shield bearing a faun's head; Hecuba holds in her left hand the lance of her son, and with her right presents him with his helmet. In the second picture, three Men naked, crowned with flowers; one of these has the diota in his hands. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture



ΕΑΡΑΦΗΝ ΠΡΙΑΜΟΥ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΕΝ ΗΟΠΟΛΙΟ	ΕΛΕΔΕΝ ΕΛΕΔΕΝ ΚΟΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΗΟΔΟΥΔΕΝΟΤΕΕΥΦΡΟΝ ΗΕΚΥΒΕ
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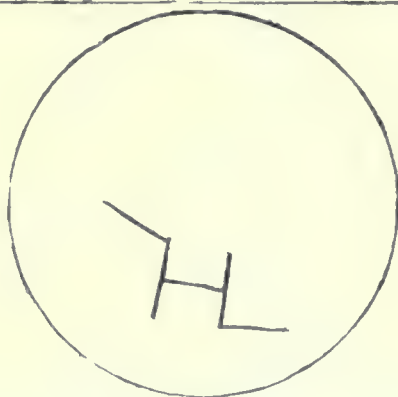
MCCCLXXXVII.

THE ROYAL PERISTYLE.

57. Large Vase with three handles, figures black and white, painted in three rows. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures six inches. In the first row Pallas holds in her right hand her spear lowered, and raises her left in a threatening manner, as if reproving Hercules for siding with the Gods. Hercules is standing still, listening to the Goddess; three other Warriors remain equally attentive; one of these bears on his shield the fore-part of a lion. In the large picture is seen a magnificent Peristyle, supported by four columns and adorned with five fountains; between the columns five urns placed

upon pedestals receive the waters; the middle fountain bears a large mask, the two extreme ones a lion's head, the two others bear a figure on horseback on an architectural ornament; four Women clad in flowered tunicks, are hanging garlands of flowers on the fountains. In the third row, three Lions and two Wild-boars. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; March 1829.*

Inscription on the large picture :



Marked under the foot.

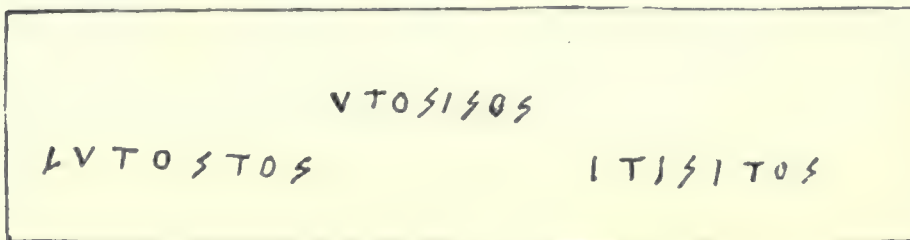
MCCCLXXXIX.

THE TWO LARGE EYES.

58. Large Vase with two handles, figures white and black. Height two palms and three inches; circumference four palms and two inches; size of the figures eleven inches. In the first picture a Quadriga with three black horses and a white one, in which is borne an old Man in a

white tunick, to whom another old Man on foot, with long white hair, is speaking; this last is carrying in his hands two lances and a whip; before the horses a Man draped is seated on a stone. In the other picture, a Woman between two Men who are draped. The two pictures are divided by two large black and white eyes under the handles. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the first painting :



Marked under the foot.

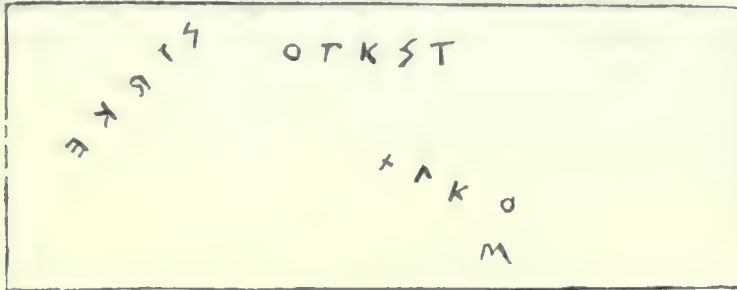
MCCCCXVIII.

THE WOUNDED WARRIOR.

59. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, black figures on a white field. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures eight inches. Two Warriors fighting with the lance; one nearly down is bleeding from several wounds; over them is seen an Eagle holding

a serpent in its talons. The handle wanting.—*Cucumella*. *Subterranean Rotunda*; *March 1829*.

Inscription :



MCCCCXXV.

THE HUNTER.

60. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches; size of the figures five inches. Reverse without any painting. In the bottom a Figure draped, with a greyhound at his feet, holds with his right hand a hare suspended by the ears. A piece of the field is wanting.—*Cavalupo*. *Fam. Minuca*; *March 1829*.

Inscription :

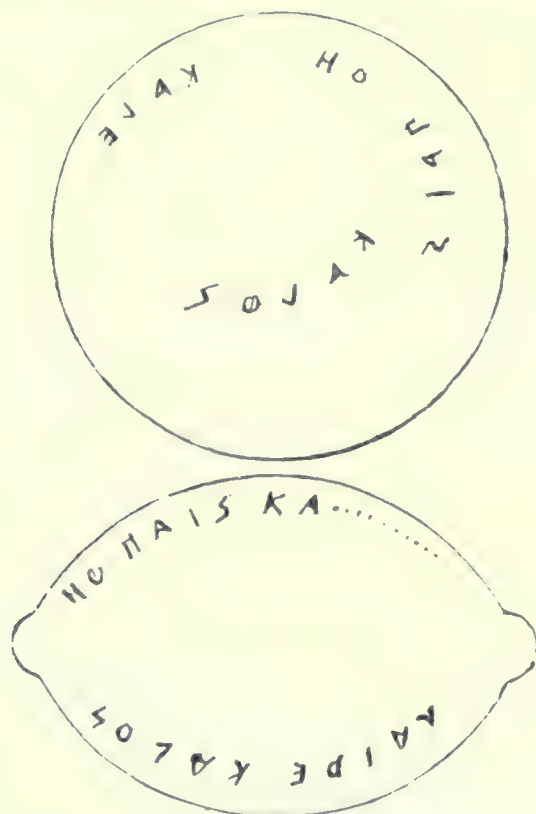


MCCCCXXXIII.

THE COMBATANTS.

61. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a naked Warrior, with one knee bent, is aiming his lance, and turning round his head to the Foe, to whom he opposes his shield. On the reverse nine Warriors are fighting in different postures ; one of them is on horseback ; two others are holding their horses by the bit ; one is lying on the ground, and another is in the act of falling ; on their shields are seen a horse, a human head with a pileus, three globes, an eagle devouring a serpent, and a serpent darting his sting. Complete.—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia* ; March 1829.

Inscription on the bottom :



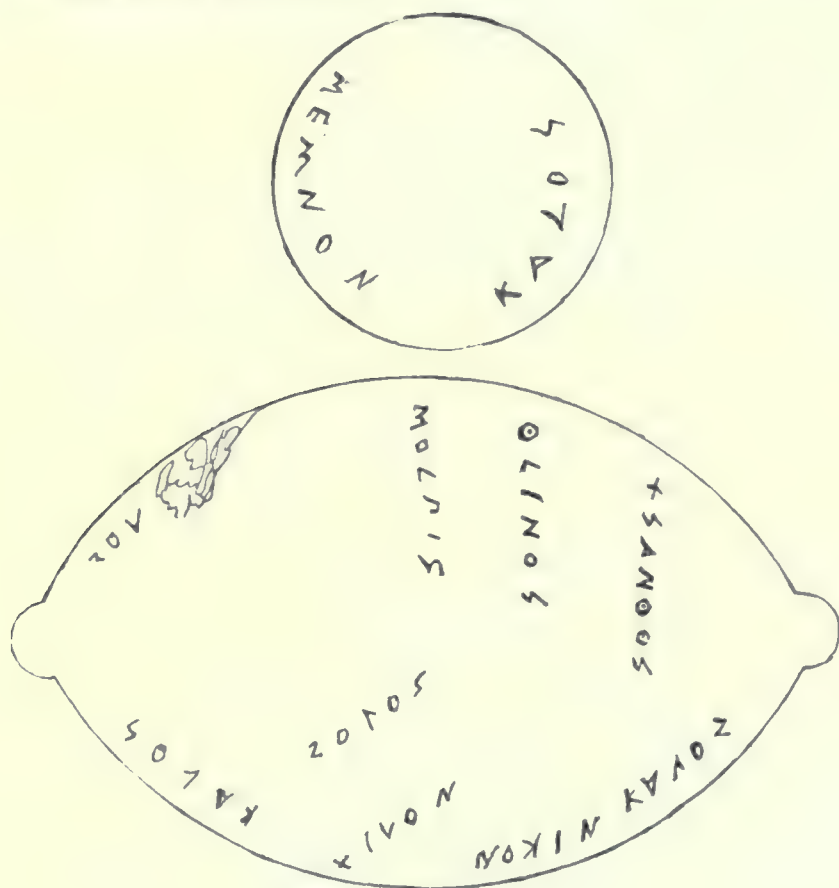
On the reverse.

MCCCCXXXIV.

LINUS.

62. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a Warrior, with one knee bent, bears on his shield an eagle, a quiver hangs at his side. On the reverse, on one side, Linus is playing the lyre between two Persons who are listening to him; on the other side are three naked young Men. A head wanting and a few pieces of the field.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.

MCCCCXXXVI.

THE LEAFY THYRSI.

63. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches; size of the figures nine inches. In the bottom a young Warrior, with a lance in his left hand, is standing before a gate, into which a Priest in a long mantle seems to be asking admittance. On the reverse, five naked Satyrs with five Bacchantes draped, are bearing leafy thyrsi; some are dancing, some playing the tibia, others are carrying serpents in their hands; all of them are in lively action. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription on the reverse:



MCCCCXXXIX.

THE AUGURAL BRANCH.

64. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a Soothsayer is speaking to a young Woman draped and crowned with leaves; the Soothsayer is lowering a sacred branch upon the head of the woman. On the reverse are ten Figures draped; two of whom are seated, observing the entrails of the suspended victims; all have their heads crowned with leaves and an augural staff in their hands. A head and a few pieces of the field are wanting.—*Cavalupo. Fam. Apia; March 1829.*

Inscription under one of the handles:

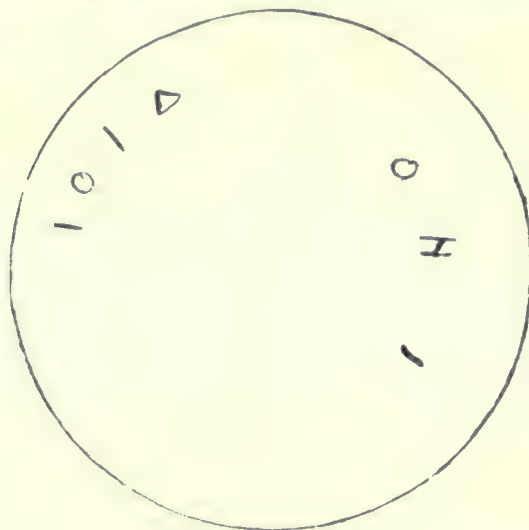
ΗΙΕΡΟΝΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ

MCCCCLXXIX.

THE URN AND THE LYRE.

67. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures eight inches. The reverse is without any painting. In the bottom is represented a man naked, holding in equilibrium a full urn in his right hand, and his lyre in the left. The picture is complete.—*Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :

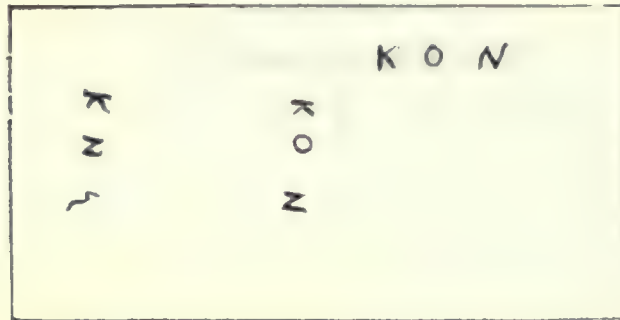


MCCCXCVIII.

THE OLD LUCUMO.

68. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures six inches. An old Lucumo seated, and clad in a rich mantle, is holding a long sceptre; he has a beard and long white hair; a Warrior on horseback lowers his lance before his presence; another figure draped is standing behind the warrior. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription :

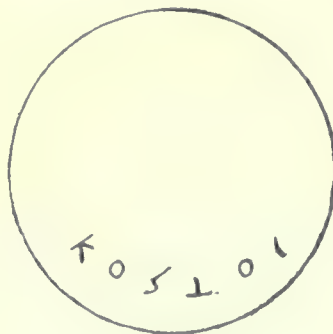


MDVIII.

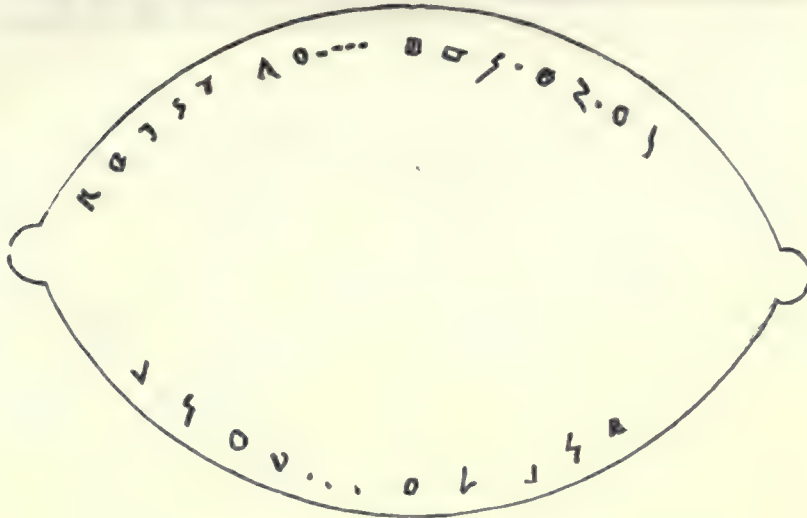
THE BANQUET.

69. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures nine inches. In the bottom two young Men, supported on a couch, with an urn and cup in their hands. On the reverse ten figures ; three naked and seven draped ; the greater part of them have also urns, the three young men, who are naked, seem inebriated. Half a head is wanting.—*Cucumella. Great Tombs of Ninfro ; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse :



MDXIII.

THE HUNTING-HORN.

70. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter sixteen inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a Man naked, crowned with flowers and seated on a stone, holds in his hand a hunting-horn. The reverse is without any painting. Complete.—*Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; March 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :

Π Α Ν Θ Δ Ι Ο Σ Ε Ρ Ο Ι Ε Σ Ε Ν

MDXIV.

THE YOUTH WITH THE GYMNASTIC WEIGHTS.

71. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter ten inches; size of the figures four inches. In the bottom a naked Youth is raising two gymnastic weights. The reverse is without any painting. Half of a handle wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; March 1829.*

Inscription in the bottom :



MDXV.

72. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom two figures draped ; one inclining his head in a melancholy attitude ; the other, crowned with flowers and with the double tibia in his hands, seems to be consoling him. The reverse is without any painting. Several pieces of the field wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia* ; 1829.

Inscription in the bottom :



N. B. The third letter in Labotos is doubtful between Beta and Phi, being made in the form of the figure 8.

MDXVI.

MINERVA AND THESEUS.

73. Cup with black figures. Diameter two palms ; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom a Gorgon. On the reverse, which is richly ornamented with large eyes and vine-leaves, is seen on one side a Warrior kneeling at the feet of Minerva, and on the other Theseus in the act of killing the Minotaur ; under the handles are a Faun and a Bacchante, naked. Some pieces of the field are wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; March 1829.*

Inscription round the foot :



NIKOSΘENESENOIΕSEN

N. B. The accent over the last epsilon but one is made with the same colour and varnish as the entire inscription.

MDXXXIII.

THE GIANT ALCIONEUS.

74. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures seven inches ; size of the Giant one palm two inches. In the bottom a Faun, with a drinking-horn in his right hand, touches the ground with one knee. On the reverse, on one side the giant Alcioneus, son of the Earth, is lying naked and asleep on a pillow, with his right arm bent over his forehead, and his left stretched out upon his thigh ; Hercules with his club in his hand, and covered with a lion's skin, is approaching the Giant in order to slay him ; behind the Giant stands Mercury, holding the caduceus in his left hand, whilst with his right he points out to the hero the head of the victim which he is to sacrifice. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription on the reverse :



MDXLI.

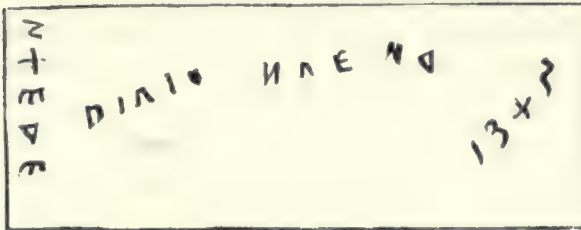
THE FESTIVAL OF THE HYDROPHORIA.

75. Large Vase with three handles, figures black and white, painted in two rows. Height two palms four inches ; circumference four palms and a half ; size of the figures ten inches. In the first row two Warriors, seated, are bowing their heads towards an image of Pallas armed ; behind the warriors are laid their shields, both of which have a Faun's head on the field ; four Warriors on foot, followed by two Molossian dogs, terminate the two sides of the picture. In the second row is seen the beginning of the colonnade of a temple ; under a column flows from a lion's head a fountain, whilst above on a pedestal is placed a large vase ; a Matron draped, on the point of entering the temple, turns round to four Damsels, who are following her, bearing on their heads four empty vases ; two does accompany the damsels ; this picture represents a ceremony in the feast called *Hydrophoria*. It is remarkable that many vases are found alluding to this festival, which

goes back to the most ancient Pelasgian times, and is in all probability commemorative of the grand epoch of the Deluge. Perfect.—*Cucumella. Subterranean Rotunda; April 1829.*

Inscription :

Marked under the foot :

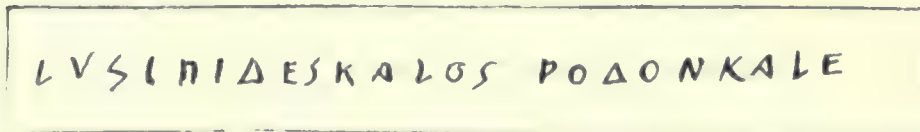


MDXLVII.

THE NUPTIALS OF THE FAIR LUSIPIDES.

76. Large Vase with three handles; figures white, black, and violet-coloured, with three rows of paintings. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first row two Warriors are fighting with the lance; and one lies dead at their feet; the two sides of the picture are terminated with two draped figures, and two others naked. In the second row, a front view of a Quadriga, which bears a bride and bridegroom, and proceeds in a festal manner: a player on the lyre and two other persons draped, accompany the Quadriga; the names of the couple are written on the top of the vase. In the third row, a Siren between two tigers and two roe-bucks. Complete.—*Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription :



MDXLVIII.

THE SACRED FOUNTAIN.

77. Large Vase with three handles ; figures black, white, and violet-coloured ; three rows of paintings. Height two palms and two inches ; circumference four palms and a half ; size of the figures eight inches. In the first row three Warriors in the act of fighting, and two Women who are flying from alarm. In the second row, under the colonnade of a temple, is seen a Fountain which gushes out from the mouth of a lion and falls into a vase ; a Girl and four Women covered with tunics and richly flowered mantles, and with vases on their heads, are to be seen at the gate of the temple ; two with empty vases are entering, and two others with full vases are coming out of the vestibule. In the third row two Wild-boars, two Lions, and a Sphinx. Perfect.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription on the second row :

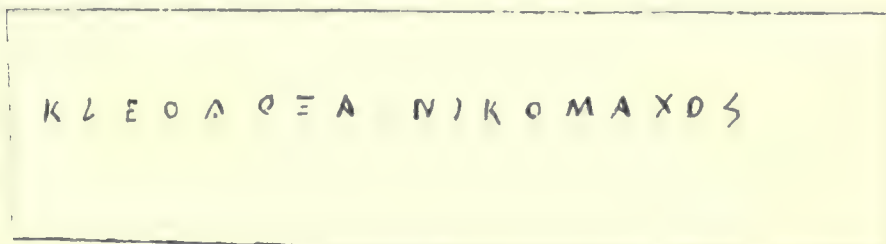
MNESILA	POAON	AMAT	EDIS
KAL	ELETEIEN	ELETELEIEN	ANOVLEKPLE
ELETEIEN			

MDLXXXVIII.

THE BANQUET.

78. Large Vase with two handles, figures yellow. Height two palms and two inches; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures one palm. On one side three young Men, half-naked and stretched out on couches, are banqueting; a Female, playing on the tibia, is standing near the table. On the other side are three young Men draped, one of whom is holding a lyre. Several pieces are wanting.—*Fam. Arionsa; April 1829.*

Inscription:

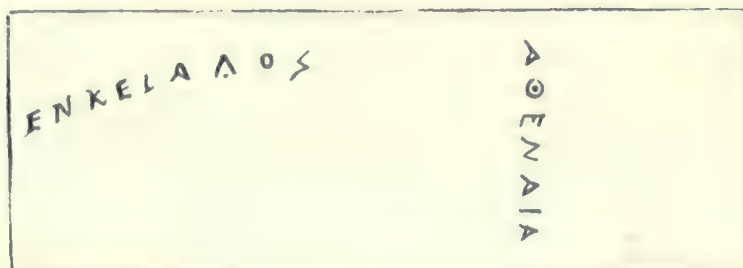


MDCVI.

ENCELADUS.

79. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black. Height one palm; circumference two palms; size of the figures six inches. Enceladus, half-prostrated by Minerva, touches the ground with one knee, and seems to be imploring for mercy. Perfect.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription:

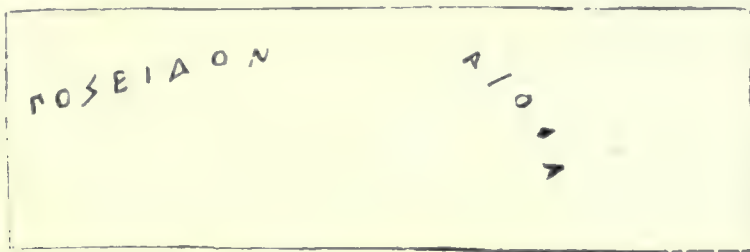


MDCX.

POSEIDONIAN NEPTUNE.

80. Large Vase with two handles, yellow figures. Height two palms; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures one palm and two inches. Neptune in his right hand holds the trident, and with his left stops a Nymph taken by surprise. Several pieces of the field wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription :

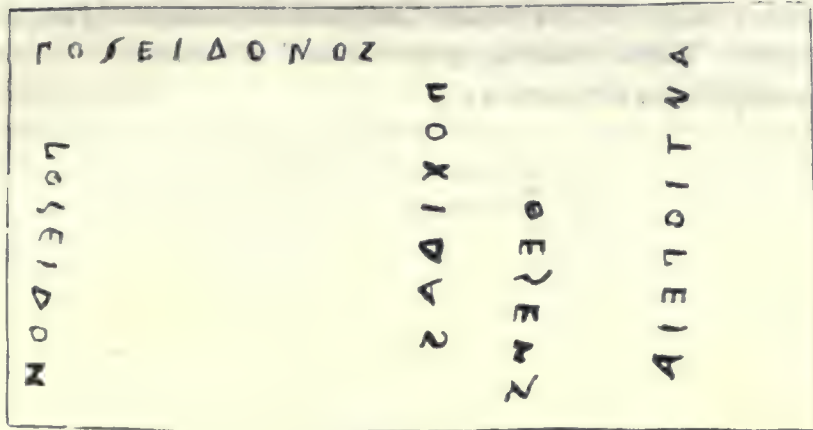


MDCXIV.

THE RAPE OF ANTIOPE.

81. Large Vase with two handles, figures white, black, and violet-coloured. Height three palms and a half; circumference seven palms; size of the figures one palm. On one side Theseus is carrying off Antiope in his rapid Quadriga; behind the horses a Warrior, who bears an eagle on his shield, is struggling with an old Man who has a long beard, who stops him, as if he wished to prevent his following the ravisher; the inscription *Poseidonius* shows this person to be Neptune, the protector of Theseus; another Warrior is mounting the chariot which contains the couple. On the other side, Hercules naked is prostrating the Nemean lion in the presence of Minerva; the arms and the mantle of the Hero are hung up on a large tree; the shield of Minerva bears on the field a bull's-head. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.* Found under the great pedestal of Ninfro.

Inscription :



Under the foot.

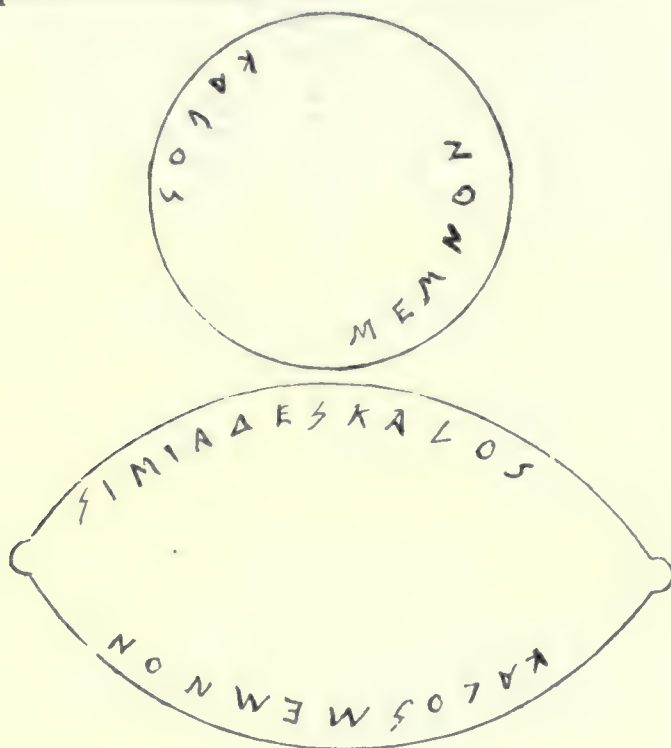
MDCXVII.

THE BEAUTIFUL MEMNON.

82. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures seven inches. In the bottom a young Man naked, with the name of Memnon written round, bears an amphora in his right hand. On the reverse, on one side three Warriors and an Amazon are fighting; one of the Warriors bears upon his shield an eagle, and another a serpent; on the other side four youthful Warriors are fighting, and amongst them is distinguished the same Warrior who in the other pic-

ture bears a serpent on his shield. Complete.—*Cucumella*. Fam. *Fepia* ; April 1829. Found under the great pedestal of Ninfro.

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.

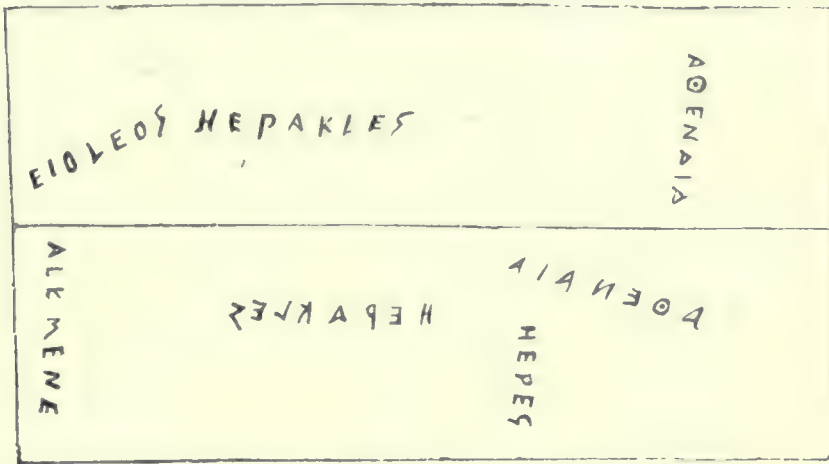
MDCXXXV.

THE COUCH OF HERCULES.

83. Large Vase with three handles ; figures black, white, and violet-coloured, in three rows of paintings. Height two palms ; circumference four palms ; size of the figures eight inches. In the first row Hercules is strangling the Lion ; Minerva and Iolaus are contemplating the struggle. In the second row, Hercules is raising himself from the magnificent couch of his repose, and is listening to Alcmena, who is standing

opposite to him ; the lion's skin and the broad sword are hung up ; the club and the quiver are supported against the ivory feet of the couch ; Minerva and Mercury are standing behind the Hero ; Minerva is holding a garland with which she is going to adorn the head of Hercules. In the third row are two small figures on horseback, two on foot, and a stag in the middle. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription on the first row :



On the second.

MDCXLV.

THE BLOODY CONTEST.

84. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom, two naked Athletæ are struggling ; one, although on the ground, is grasping with his left hand his adversary's throat ; a Master of the Gymnastic art, with a rod in his hand is observing them. On the reverse, eight young Men naked are combating in pairs, and three Masters of the Gymnastic art are raising their rods in order to quicken them ; the blood is seen flowing from the wounds received, and amongst these combatants two are Lads ; the numerous inscriptions are not only to be seen along the figures, but also upon them ;

under the handles a large Cup and a Tripod are set out as prizes for the victors. On the other side of the reverse, five Warriors are arming themselves, and in the midst of them a Master of the Gymnastic art appears to be scolding them; one of the Warriors bears on his shield an eagle devouring a serpent, and another bears the fore-part of a horse. A few pieces are wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

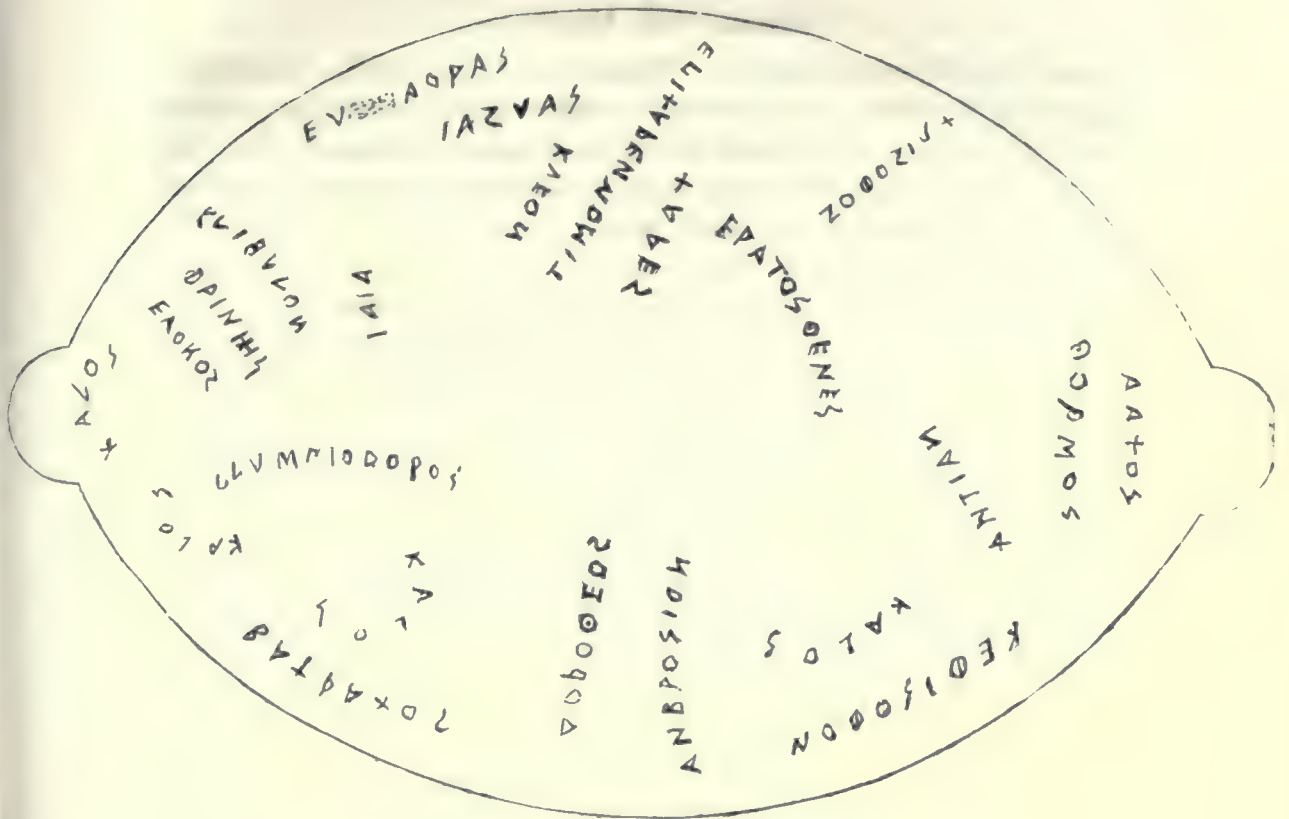
Inscription on the bottom :



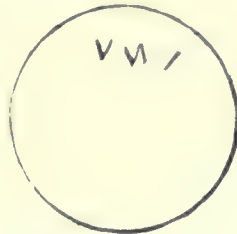
found on the estate at Canino.

239

On the reverse :



Marked under the foot:

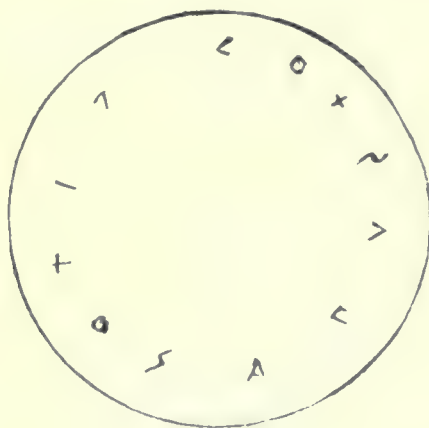


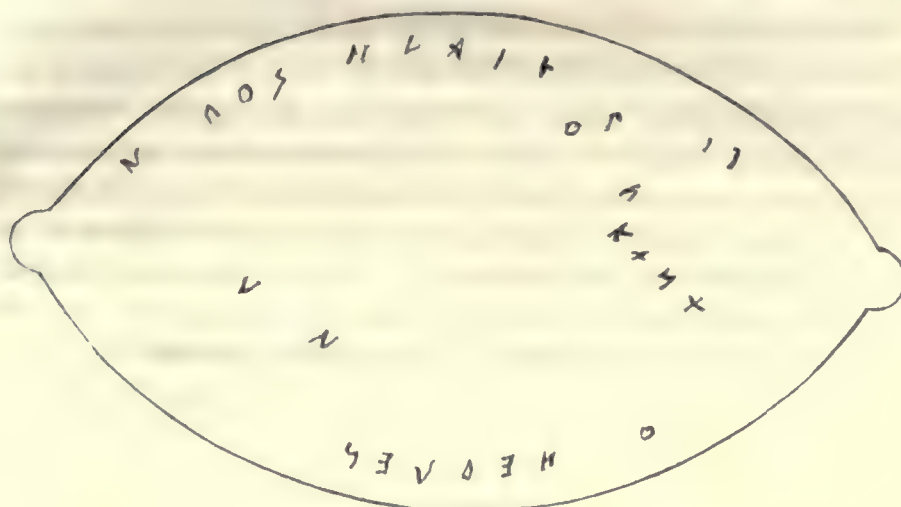
MDCXLVI.

BACCHUS AND HERCULES.

85. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter nineteen inches ; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a naked Youth is holding a lyre in the right hand, and in the left the thigh of some quadruped. On the reverse, on one side, the young Bacchus brings to the ground a naked Warrior, who bears a cock on his shield ; two Youths, companions of the first, are flying with two horses in their hands : Bacchus is crowned with ivy, and has the skin of a tiger extending over his left arm. On the other side of the reverse, the young Hercules, covered with a lion's skin, is combating with his sword a Warrior, who bears a lion on his shield ; another Warrior covers with his shield the first, who is falling to the ground ; a Woman, with a diadem on her head, appears alarmed at the fall of the first Warrior ; on the side of Hercules, Minerva is raising her spear, and a draped figure (probably Omphale) is urging on the Hero to victory. One head is wanting, and a few chips of the field.—*Marucheto. April 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :





On the reverse.

MDCLIX.

86. Bottom of a Cup with yellow figures. A Girl feeding two Geese with different kinds of leaves. *Fam. Ranuta* ; March 1829.

Inscription :



MDCLXXVI.

THE TRICLINIUM.

87. Cup with black, white, and violet-coloured figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; height one palm. The bottom without any painting. On the reverse, on one side, three Couches and three Tables; a Cup with small half-naked figures is standing upon each couch ; a player on the tibia and another figure are standing by. On the other side, two Quadrigas with two Drivers in white tunics are contending in the race for the prize. Complete.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription :



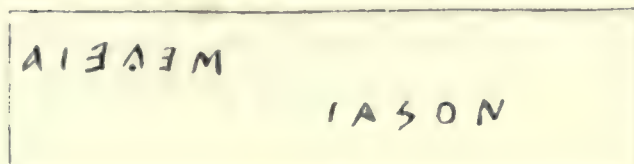
MDCXCHH.

MEDEA.

88. Large Vase with three handles, figures yellow. Height three palms ; circumference five palms ; size of the figures one palm and two inches. Medea, in a long mantle, is holding in her left hand a small vessel full, and in the act of uttering an incantation, is stretching her

right arm over an urn, from which issues the fore part of a Ram; the urn is supported by a tripod, and a blazing fire is under it; on the other side Jason is extending his arm towards Medea, and pointing out the Ram. The drapery is chipped in one place.—*Cucumella. Fam Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription :



MDCCV.

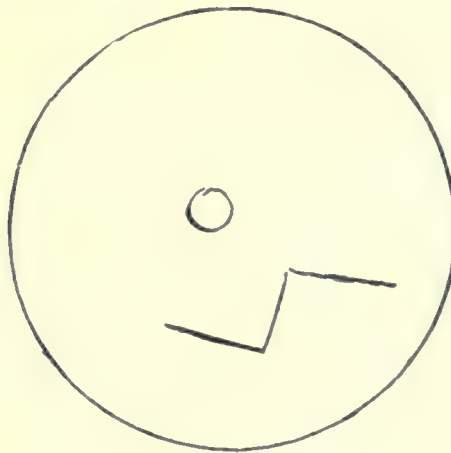
THE SEVEN WATER-CARRIERS.

89. Large Vase with three handles; figures white, black, and violet-coloured, with three rows of paintings. Height two palms and four inches; circumference four palms and a half; size of the figures six inches. In the first row a Quadriga standing still, its Driver naked, with a sword by his side, a King is seated before the horses, another Figure with a sceptre is standing by, as well as five Warriors, and a Woman richly draped; one of the Warriors bears a dolphin on his shield; another three globes, and a third a leaf of the plane-tree. In the second row four Damsels richly draped, three of whom are bearing empty vessels upon their heads; they are approaching a colonnade, under which a fountain, flowing apparently with wine, falls from a lion's head into an urn; three other Damsels, with their vessels full, are departing from the colonnade. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription on the second row :

TIMEKALE	+ PAAKESS
ΣTONEN	ENETOSA
LEOHEO	NOΣNDIEN
TELDIO	NV+EON O
APANOM	POAVONNOA

Marked under the foot:



MDCCVII.

THE CHASE.

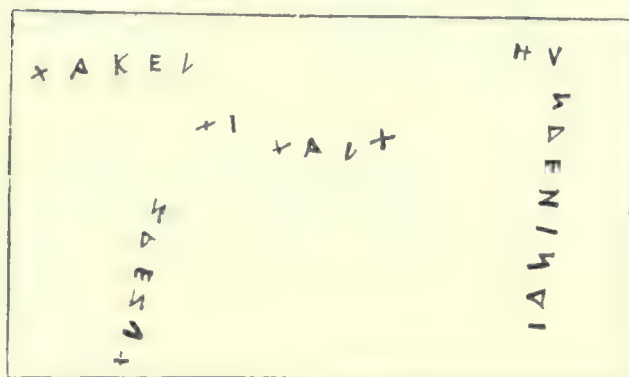
90. Large Vase with three handles, figures white, black, and violet-coloured, with four rows of paintings. Height two palms and four inches; circumference four palms and two inches; size of the figures

eight inches. In the first row, within the mouth, ten Birds painted in black upon a white ground upon the branches of trees. In the second row, upon a white ground, ten other Birds. In the third row, two Quadrigas standing still, with two Drivers in white tunics; two Figures draped, with sceptres in their hands, are seated near the chariots; two greyhounds are with the horses. In the fourth row, three Figures draped, on horseback, with travelling hats on and lances in their hands, appear to be setting out for the chase; two dogs accompany them, and a Person on foot with two lances on his shoulder follows them. Uninjured.

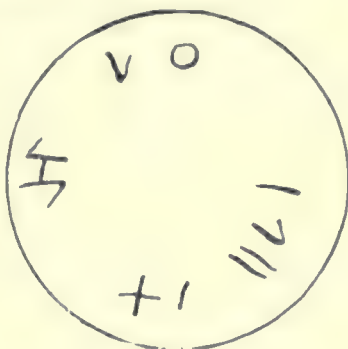
—*Cucumella*. *Fam. Fepia*; April 1829.

Inscription on the fourth row :

Upon the rim of the mouth :



Marked under the foot :

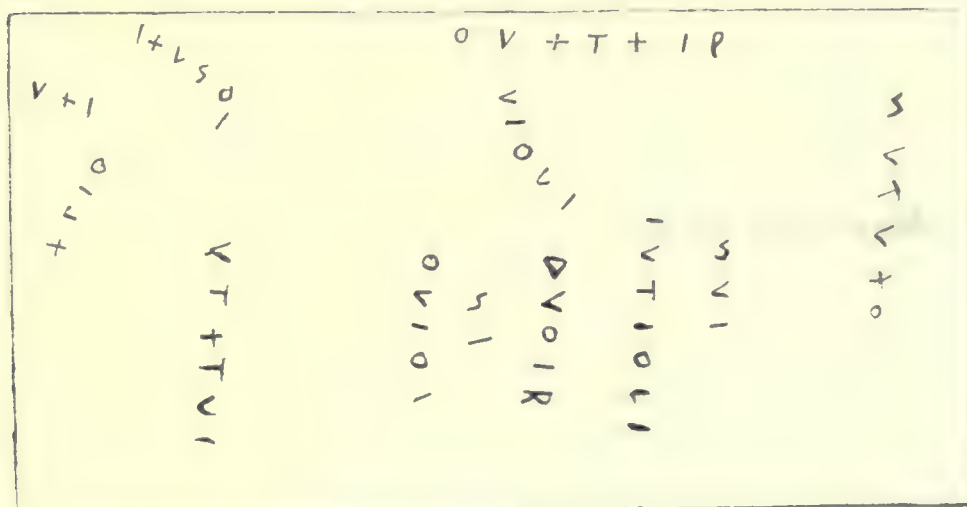


MDCCVIII.

PALLAS AND DIANA.

91. Large Vase with two handles, figures white, black, and violet-coloured. Height two palms and ten inches; circumference five palms; size of the figures ten inches. On one side Pallas, covered with the scaly peplum, is mounting her quadriga; the Driver in a white tunic has just harnessed the horses; Hercules is holding one of them by the reins; Mercury precedes them, another Male figure is conversing with the driver. On the other side, Diana is holding the reins of the horses of her quadriga; a falcon is flying near her head; a hind is standing between the feet of the horses; Mercury with the caduceus, and Apollo playing the lyre, escort the quadriga. Uninjured.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription :



Marked under the foot :



MDCCXXV.

THE GIANT OVERTHROWN.

92. Small Cup with one handle, figures yellow. Size of the figures six inches. The young Bacchus, crowned with bay, carries upon his left arm a tigress, and with his right hurls a lance into the breast of a fallen Giant, round whose body a serpent is entwined; another Giant, still on his feet, tries to kill the serpent with his lance. A few pieces of the field are wanting.—*Fam. Fepia*; April 1829.

Inscription :



MDCCXXXVII.

THE QUARREL BETWEEN ACHILLES AND AGAMEMNON.

93. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures seven inches. In the bottom, a Genius Virilis winged, with the head and the left hand raised to heaven, is holding in his right hand a flower. On the reverse, on one side, Agamemnon and Achilles are in the act of rushing against each other; two young Men are stopping Agamemnon and endeavouring to disarm him, whilst two others are doing the same to Achilles; in the midst of the contending chiefs a Hero is extending his two arms as if reproving them: all the figures are naked. On the other side near a colonnade, a Woman draped is extending her hand towards a Warrior who is hurrying to the fight; before the Warrior a Woman with a diadem on her head, and a tunic girt high, is running, and apparently hurrying on two young Men on horseback, who are following her, their square and strange mantles are ornamented with numerous waving lines. A small piece of the field is wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom:



On the reverse.

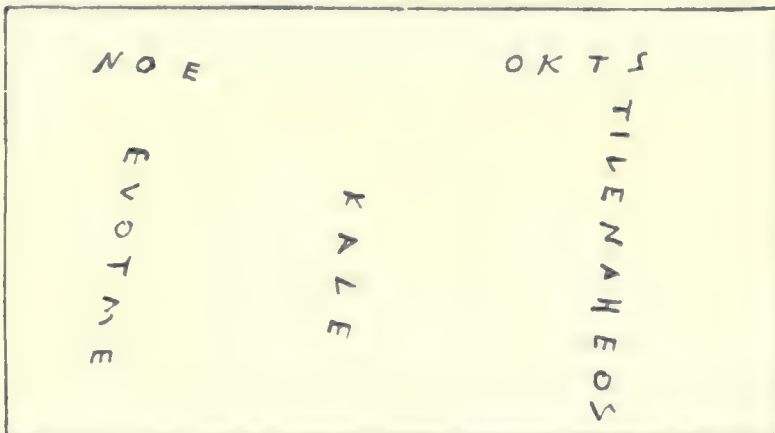


MDCCLV.

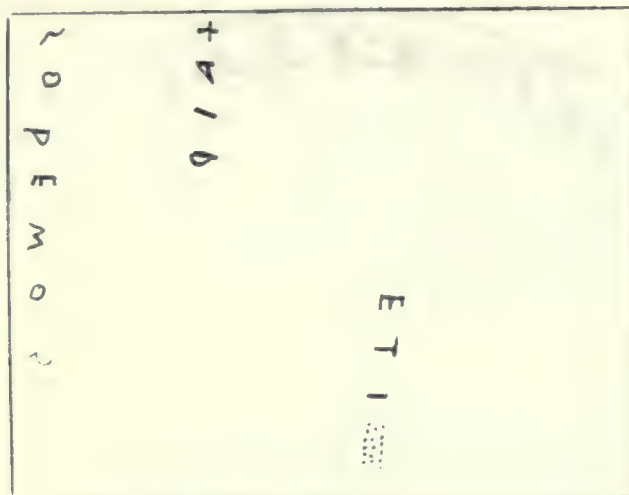
THE TWO AMAZONS ON HORSEBACK.

94. Middle-sized Vase with one handle, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height sixteen inches ; circumference two palms ; size of the figures six inches. Two Amazons, each armed with two lances, are mounting two War-horses ; two Dogs are accompanying the horses.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture :



On the second :



MDCCLVI.

THE WARRIOR OF THE SYREN.

95. Large Vase with two handles; figures yellow. Height three palms; circumference six palms; size of the figures fourteen inches. On one side an armed Warrior, bearing on his shield a Syren, and on his helmet a serpent, twisted; with another Warrior who is getting into a quadriga; this last bears on his shield a dolphin; a young man is before the quadriga. On the other side a Woman, draped, presents a crown of laurel to a Youth who holds in his right hand a bent stick; another male Figure stands behind the Woman. Several pieces are wanting.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture :

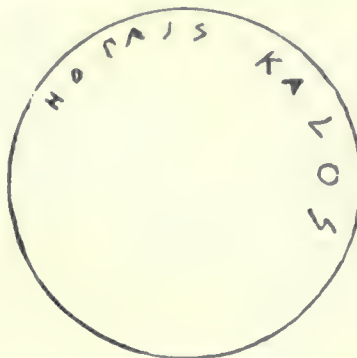


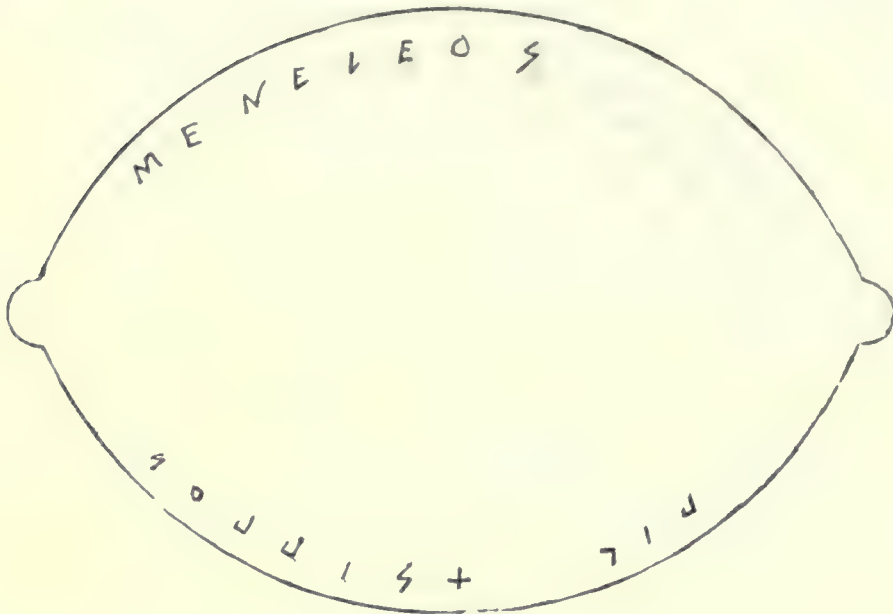
MDCCLVII.

MENELAUS.

96. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures seven inches. In the bottom a naked Youth crowned with flowers. On the reverse, on one side, a Warrior who bears on his shield a tripod, is combating with two others ; the name of Menelaus is written upon the first ; on the other side, a naked Youth is holding two horses. Complete. In many places the holes made at the ancient restoration are observable ; and they are found indifferently in the field, and also in the naked figures.—*Cucumella. Fam. Fepia ; April 1829.*

Inscription in the bottom :





On the reverse.

MDCCLVIII.

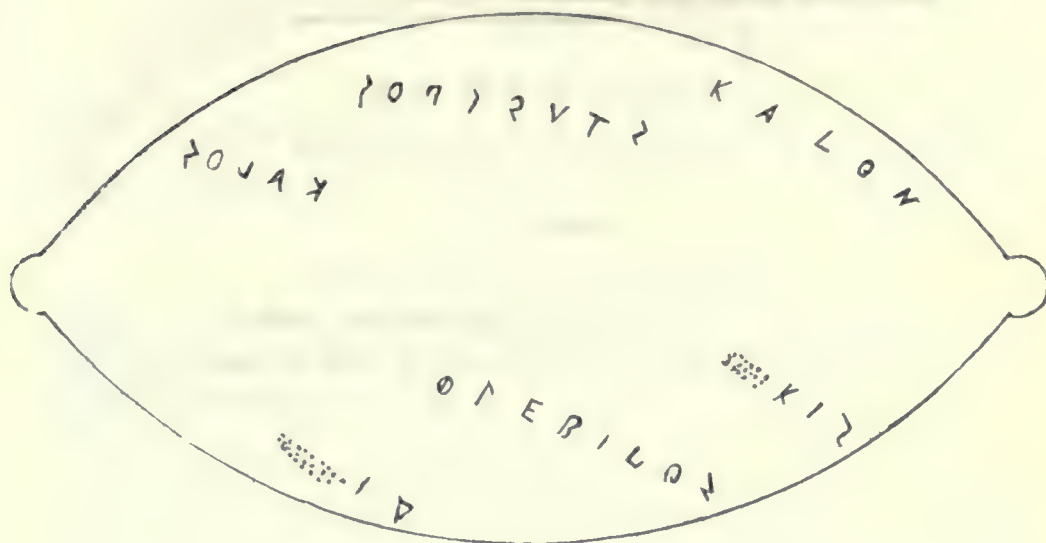
THE TWO HINDS.

97. Cup with yellow figures. Diameter twenty inches; size of the figures eight inches. In the bottom a naked Youth with a cup in his right hand. On the reverse, two Hinds between four naked Fauns. —*Cavalupo. Fam. Fepia; April 1829.*

Inscription on the bottom :



On the reverse.



MDCCCLXXXVII.

VITULONIA.

98. Large Vase with two handles, figures black, white, and violet-coloured. Height two palms; circumference four palms; size of the figures nine inches. On one side a Matron draped, and a male figure naked, are going towards the Indian Bacchus, to whom they seem to be paying homage; Bacchus holds in his right hand the vine-leaf, and with his left presents a drinking-horn to the matron; the inscription *Vithlon*, along the naked male figure, shows this figure, and that also of the matron, to be symbols of the people of Vitulonia (the most ancient capital of Etruria, whose site was unknown even in the time of Pliny) in the act of receiving the worship of Bacchus, which deity is accompanied by two draped figures. On the other side, an armed Warrior bearing on his shield a tripod, is standing between two Chiefs in rich mantles, who are followed by two naked Youths. Uninjured.—*Canne- lochio. Fam. Arionsa; April 1829.*

Inscription on the first picture :

V I O L O H O + E I

MDCCCCVIII.

THE LION AND THE SEA-MONSTER.

99. Large Vase with two handles, figures black and white, in two rows of paintings. Height two palms and a half; circumference five palms; size of the figures one palm. In the first row, Hercules, naked, is struggling with the Lion; Minerva, seated, is raising her right arm towards the Hero, in order to urge him on to victory; a Woman draped, is holding the club, and is seated opposite to Minerva; a follower of Hercules stoops towards the scene eagerly waiting the result. In the second row, Hercules, covered with the lion's skin, is subduing a Sea-monster, perhaps Proteus; an old Chief, with a sceptre in his hand, is standing near the combatants. Several pieces of the field are wanting. —*Cucumella. Fam. Arusania; April 1829.*

Inscription on the second row :



MDCCCC.

THE SHIP OF BACCHUS.

100. Cup with figures, black, white, and violet-coloured. Diameter eighteen inches ; size of the figures six inches. In the bottom, adorned with dolphins, symbolical of the Tuscans, is seen a Ship, made in the form of a large Dolphin, on which are painted two small dolphins. The Indian Bacchus, with a drinking-horn in his right hand, alone, lies extended upon the bark. The sail is spread, and the mast is surrounded with vine-leaves rich with clusters overarching the deity like a pavilion ; this picture, which indicates in so clear a manner the arrival of the Indian Bacchus among the Tuscans, exactly corresponds with Vase No. 1887, found in the same Hypogæum, representing the homage of the people of Vitulonia to the Indian Bacchus. On the reverse of the cup, richly adorned with four large eyes disposed so as to represent part of two human heads, are seen four groups, each consisting of three contending Warriors ; two other Warriors are lying dead between the four groups. Around the foot of this cup is painted the name of the maker in Pelasgian characters, similar to the greater part of the other inscriptions ; also, around the inner part of the rim there runs a long inscription of thirty-three words in characters totally different, which seem to resemble those which Mr. Champollion designates under the name of Demotic Egyptian characters. The following copy does not pretend to be an exact fac-simile of this inscription ; it is, however, given in order to convey some idea of the original. The rim is chipped in one place. —*Cannelocchio. Fam. Arionsa ; April 1829.*

Inscription on the foot :

EXSEKIA SEΠO ESE

CATALOGUE OF PROPER NAMES
CONTAINED IN THE TWO FIRST HUNDREDS,
AND
NOTE BY THE PRINCE OF CANINO.

CATALOGUE OF PROPER NAMES IN THE TWO FIRST HUNDREDS.

Progressive Numbers.	Artists' Names.	Proper Names.
First Hundred.		
8	Tlesonkonearcho (Epoiesen.)	
18	Andokides (Epoie.)	
44	Kosthenes (Epoi.)	
65		{ Ptroklos. Olieu. Achileus. Hektor. Airepo. Andromache.
Second Hundred.		
2		{ Hektor. Troilos. Achileus. Hermes. Aineas. Deiphubos.
3		{ Atalante. Peleus. Mhophsos. Zeus. Klutios.
10		{ Aineas. Nirios. Neptolemos. Ajas. Achileos. Meneleos. Paris. Chiron. Thetis. Peles. Rontmera.
13	Phitias (Egraphsen)	Megakles.
14		Glaukon.
16	{ Hischulos { (Epoiesen.) Pheiripos { (Egraphe.)	
17		{ Herakles. Antiopeia. Phorbas. Perithos.
19	.. iktetos (Egraphsen)	
20		Diogenes.
23	Hieron (Epoiesen.)	
24	Nikosthenes (Epoiesen)	
25	Vphronios (Epoiesen)	Achilevus. Troilos.
28	{ Epiktetos { (Egraphsen) Puthon { (Epoiesen)	
30	Epiktetos (Egraphsen)	
35		{ Memnon. Lukopis. Herakles. Andromache. Joleo.
38		OLUSEUS.

Progressive Numbers.	Artists' Names.	Proper Names.
39		{ Joleos. Herakles. Athenaia. Hermes. Milichos. Mosaon. Telokles. Diodoros. Chremes.
41		{ Briachos. Dionusos. Erophulles. Nestor. Iris. Phenis.
44	{ Euchsithes { (Epoiesen) { Oltos { (Egraphsen)	{ Antilochos. Diomedes. Patroklos. Ajas. Ainea. Ipisos.
45	Tlesonkonearcho (Epoiesen)	
46	Andokides (Epoiesen)	
47		{ Artemis. Apolon. Athenaia. Palon.
48	Hieron (Epoiesen)	
49	Doris (Egraphsen)	
51	Chachrulion (Epoiesen)	
55	Andokides (Epoiesen)	
56	Euthumides (Egraphsen)	{ Hekabe. Hektor. Priamos. Komarchos. Teles. Eledemos. Jope. Rodopis. Kleo. Epiaromas.
57		{ Memnon. Molpis. Thlinos. Chsantos. Nikon. Chilon. Solos.
60		
62		
64	Hieron (Epoiesen)	
66		Epiaromas.
72		Labotos. Klitagora.
73	Nikosthenes (Epoiesen)	
74	{ Deiniades { (Epoiesen) { Phiutias { (Egraphsen)	{ Herakles. Apollon. Hermes. Alchuoneus. Lusipides. Rodon. Mnesila Rodon. Amat. Edis. Anthule. Kleodoxa. Nichomachos. Enkelados. Athenaia. Poseidon.
76		{ Poseidonos. Poseidon. Pokidas. Theseus. Antiopcia. Memnon. Simiades.
77		{ Eioleos. Herakles. Athenaia. Alkmene. Hermes.
78		{ Asopokles. Antimachos. Jasua. Kleon. Timon. Chares. Eratosthenes. Chlisophos. Klibulon. Phrineis. Elonos. Olimpiodoros. Batrachos. Dorotheos. Ambrosion. Kephisophon. Antian. Rachos. Thormos.
79		
80		
81		
82		
83		
84		
88		Medeia. Jason.
92		Pantaitio.
96		Meneleos.
98		Vithlon.
99		{ Apollon. Herakles. Artemidos. Athenaia.
100	Echsekias (Epoiese)	

NOTE BY THE PRINCE OF CANINO.

AFTER having published descriptions of two hundred Vases, the number of those newly discovered compels us to suspend the continuation of the Catalogue for some weeks, in order to complete their arrangement. In bringing this first part to a conclusion it appears right to say a few words respecting the circumstances which led us to undertake these excavations, and at the same time a few observations are hazarded on the antiquity of these Etruscan paintings, in the hope of exciting the learned to resume, on a more secure basis, the question already so much agitated—Whether anteriority in the fine arts belongs to Italy or to Greece.

Origin of the Excavations.

In the beginning of 1828, having been more than a year absent from my estate, a subterraneous vault was accidentally discovered in the plain of Cavalupo, not far from Mount Cucumella, in which were found some Etruscan Vases. Two dishonest agents not only concealed the circumstance from me, appropriating the whole to themselves, but proceeded to excavate throughout the whole extent of the estate at Canino, and secretly sold the articles which they discovered to M. Dorow. That enlightened antiquary, who himself visited Canino for this purpose, supposed, no doubt, that the proprietors were privy to the transaction. Many chests full of these articles passed into his hands. However, this gentleman's honour and talents give us a right to hope that he will not only favour the public with an illustration of these monuments, but also state whence and how he procured them.

After a few weeks the government and the proprietors were informed of what had happened. The dishonest agents were punished,

and the regular license having been obtained, the Princess of Canino, in the month of October last, had the excavations of Cucumella, near the bridge of the Abbey, opened in her presence. The first attempts were attended with little success, but some of the articles were of such a description as sufficed to make her persist, with that perseverance to which our discoveries are owing. It was she who selected the site of the new excavation at the foot of Mount Cucumella, and she herself marked out the circle that was to bound it. The result surpassed her expectation. Being at that time deeply engaged in certain astronomical researches, in concert with my friend the very Reverend Father Maurice of Brescia, and the task which I had imposed on myself being near its completion, I was unwilling to leave my Observatory; but two months afterwards, induced by the progress of the excavations, I at length came to Canino, and on my arrival found most of the Vases at present deposited in the house of Signior Valentini, already discovered. Surprised beyond measure at their beauty, I increased the number of workmen successively to a hundred. The general Catalogue of the excavations was then first begun, the Vases as soon as they were cleaned, being registered, together with the place and the month in which they were found; but their number being so large as to render it necessary to deposit a great many of them in a magazine, for the purpose of cleaning and describing them in their order, it was found impossible to preserve the progressive succession of dates in the Catalogue. In the course of four months employed in excavating, always within the same limits, east and west of Mount Cucumella, and in the space of a *rubbio*^a of land, more than two thousand articles have been discovered in these Hypogea, and amongst them the Vase with the inscription VIOLONO+EI, marked in the Catalogue No. 1887, which has confirmed a conjecture which many other circumstances had already induced me to entertain, respecting the situation occupied on this shore by ancient Vitulonia. With a view to open the

^a A *rubbio* is rather more than four acres (English).

way to Archæologists, the following observations are submitted to their impartial examination, and to that of the public.

Site of the Excavations.

Ancient Etruria, in the Trojan ages, was mistress of Italy, and of the two seas. This is admitted by all as an historical truth. Vitulonia, the capital of the Empire, was destroyed in times so remote, that the ancient historians declare themselves ignorant of the precise site of this first seat of Italian power. It was, however, known that Vitulonia was situated a short distance inland from the beach, where the produce of the iron mines of Elba used to be landed, and that its mineral baths, now called Caldane, were in high repute. These historical records and certain local circumstances led me to conceive the idea, that the Hypogea had been discovered in the ruins of Vitulonia. In fact, twenty years ago, I discovered and re-established the mineral baths of Canino, which, still celebrated, had been restored by the Proconsul Minucius in the first century of the Christian era. There may still be seen in the ruins of the old baths, near the new ones, the marble pavements of several large rooms, with the steps belonging to them, and the aqueducts which brought the water from the hills have still an imposing appearance. I found there a pedestal with an inscription relating to Minucius, and a marble statue of Hygeia of excellent workmanship. These mineral waters have given the name of Caldane to a part of the estate, which has always borne, and still preserves it. The iron from the mines of Elba is still disembarked on this shore, and worked here, so that all the few circumstances transmitted to us by the ancients still exist. This singular coincidence of positive facts, ancient and modern, together with the master-pieces found during the first months of our labours, were certainly sufficient to give consistence to the conjecture about Vitulonia. It was hoped that some inscription might be found which should place such conjecture beyond a doubt. Up to the 22d of April, about two hundred Vases had been discovered bearing inscriptions, but none of them relating to Vitulonia; although,

indeed, the painting on one of the finest Vases, entitled the Genius of Italy, No. 542 of the general Catalogue, seemed to have some allusion to that subject; but at length on the 22d of April, in the excavation of Cannellochio, Hypogeum of the Arionsa family, and in a grotto or vault twenty palms deep, and entirely full of earth, was dug up, perfectly whole, the Vase No. 1887, bearing the inscription VIOLONO+EI and a painting, the subject of which is the Vitulonian people, represented by a matron and a male figure, who are doing homage to the ancient Bacchus. To this valuable discovery, and to the local circumstances already mentioned, must be added the Hypogea of the principal Etruscan families found with their inscriptions, and then let it be considered, whether the Hypogea of such families, full of masterpieces of the art, can be supposed to have belonged to any other city than the capital. These Hypogea may then, without any further doubt, be supposed to have belonged to ancient Vitulonia; very few facts of remote times, in my opinion, are corroborated by so many probabilities; the opinion of some who place Vitulonia near Piombino is unsupported by any proof. The City of Vulcia, and the other remains scattered over this neighbourhood, were built on the ruins of Vitulonia, and the three magnificent bridges so near to one another, over the Fiora, which are still to be seen, one entire and the other two in ruins, probably connected the two parts of the capital.

Age of the Monuments.

Let us now enquire to what age these Monuments of antiquity are to be ascribed. In the earliest ages of Rome, Vitulonia no longer existed; our Hypogea are, therefore, anterior to the foundation of Rome. Painting did not flourish in Greece until four centuries after the foundation of Rome; consequently the masterly paintings so wonderfully preserved in our Hypogea, are at least four centuries anterior to the fine age of Greece. To Italy, then, of the ancient world, must be allowed anteriority in the fine arts, no less than that pre-eminence in

the cultivation of them which distinguishes her in modern times. Indeed, let it be considered that if these painted Vases had existed above ground on this coast, the Romans, when they conquered it, would have carried away articles so valuable, many of which bear the image and the name of Eneas, and on that account could not possibly have been neglected by the Romans. Besides, the Etruscan artists of those days, who followed the conquerors to Rome, would necessarily have carried there the art of painting on Vases. Now we know that the Romans were unacquainted with this art; we know besides that, during the first three centuries of Rome, they were continually at war with the Etruscans; we know positively that our Lucumonia of Tarquinia was invaded by the Romans in the year 384 of Rome, fifty years before the time of the Greek Apelles; at that time no painted Etruscan Vases any longer existed above ground in those regions, and not only were they buried, but the art of painting them was entirely lost, otherwise the Romans would have been acquainted with the art and its productions. There is then the clearest evidence that our Hypogea go back to an age anterior to Apelles, and a probability almost equal to a certainty, that they go back beyond the foundation of Rome to the Trojan and subsequent ages, when the Etruscan empire embraced the whole of Italy without excepting the lower part of it, afterwards called, *Magna Græcia*, Sicily, and the Islands. Vitulonia was the centre of this empire at a time when the Italians, lords of their own, and of other seas, fought the Argonauts, traded to Mitylene, and other parts of the Archipelago, and diffused every where the beneficent light of the fine arts, which providence seems to have bestowed on Italy, not, indeed, temporarily as on Greece, but in all ages, from the most remote to the present day. It is high time that the learned of Italy, no longer at variance with each other, but united by the force of evidence which our monuments afford, in adopting the opinion maintained by the illustrious Senator Buonarotti, by Guarnacci, by Passeri, and so many others, should place beyond a question the pre-eminence of their country, already too long obscured by *Græco-mania*.

Characters on the Monuments.

Those who can see, and will see, nothing fine or good but in Greece, triumph on observing in the inscriptions on Etruscan Vases, letters like the ancient Greek characters, and some words similar to the Greek. Before we reply, let us ask how, fifty years before Apelles, the Greeks, who had not, as yet, any master-pieces of painting, could have introduced into Italy the master-pieces in question? how they could have filled our Hypogea, already in the possession of Romans, with these articles, with which the Romans were never acquainted? Let us ask how it can be reasonably supposed that the Greeks, boastful by nature, who took to themselves without scruple the Gods and the Heroes, and the inventions of all nations, would not have spoken of the painted Vases, if they had been able to produce them.

It appears evident that the Italians have to boast of having discovered, that to give eternity to human monuments, neither stone nor bronze avails, but that humble earthenware alone subsists through ages, uninjured, and unchanged.

This single discovery of ancient Italy suffices to show that not only the fine arts, and the imagination which produces them, but that the sciences, and the meditation from which they spring, were the property of our Peninsula, when Greece was still barbarous, and the remainder of the west in darkness.

Having put this question, we reply to the observation respecting the similarity of the letters to the ancient Greek, and respecting certain Greek words contained in the inscriptions, that Herodotus, Book 5. chap. 59, asserts that the Etruscan and ancient Greek characters were alike. In fact, ancient Greek was nothing but Pelasgian, and this Pelasgian language was necessarily that of the ancient Etruscans. We derive every thing from the East; the Pelasgians did not come originally from Greece, although some of them in their way to Italy passed through that country, but they came from the East; after the dispersion of the nations, the Pelasgians came to Italy, to Greece, to the

Islands: one common language necessarily prevailed amongst these different Pelasgians. In the more remote ages, then, the same language, the same letters were to be found, not only probably but necessarily, alike in the Islands, in Greece, and in Italy, and the more ancient the monuments the more sure are they to bear ancient Pelasgian, or ancient Greek, or, which is one and the same thing, ancient Etruscan characters. This observation has not escaped the celebrated Lanzi, who declares uniformity in letters an evident sign of antiquity; if then these monuments present any words similar to Greek words, or any names like Greek names, the conclusion is that these words and these names were Pelasgian, or ancient Greek, or Etruscan.

It is natural that some words and some names should be found common to both languages, as is the case in modern Italian and Latin;^a but it is natural that many more should be found, and many more are found, unintelligible to the professors of ancient or modern Greek, although the letters composing these words are recognised as Greek characters at once.

As to the Etruscan characters on the Eugubine tables, it appears evident that they are posterior to the foundation of Rome, and therefore they differ, and it is to be expected that they should differ, a little more from the Pelasgian letters; and in fact they mark the passages from the Etruscan to the Latin characters. Our Hypogea being anterior to the foundation of Rome, it follows, that they cannot represent any event posterior to that epoch, and accordingly no such representation is to be found upon them. The deeds of Mythology being of Pelasgian origin, were celebrated by the Etruscans before the Greeks, for the incontrovertible reason, that Etruria was civilized and incorporated into a powerful nation, when Greece was still in infancy; and they are

^a If an American who understood Latin but was unacquainted with Italian, on seeing these pages, and remarking that the characters are the same as those used in Latin, should conclude from this similarity that the language of Italy was Latin, what would be said of him? By this mode of reasoning, Italian, French, English, Spanish, &c. would be all one language, since the characters used in them are the same.

therefore frequently represented with details differing from the traditions afterwards adopted by the Greeks, as may be seen in many of the Vases, and particularly in the Vase 544, on which is admirably painted the death of Achilles in the presence of Neoptolemus. The events of the Trojan and Theban wars were known to all Europe, they filled the world with their fame, and necessarily occupied the attention of the nation then enjoying the supremacy of the arts; not to speak of the Etruscan origin of Dardanus and his Trojans, or of the Pelasgian colonies, which emigrated and re-emigrated from Etruria to Greece, and from Greece to Etruria. If our monuments were posterior to the foundation of Rome, and to the age of the arts in Greece, how is it possible, that they should not present some painting alluding to Romulus, to Alexander, or to some event of that celebrated age, when the Greeks emulated the Italians, and (all remembrance of the latter being lost) were called the masters of the world?

Painted Earthen Vases said to have been found in Greece.

In support of the ultra-Greek system (which was excusable enough in the absence, or in the scarcity of indisputable Etruscan monuments) it has been pretended, that some vases, painted in the style of the Etruscan, have been found at Athens, Thebes, Corinth, &c. We reply, that it is not enough to assert that a monument was found in such a place, you must prove it: to quote Strabo, who does not speak of painted vases at Corinth, but only of precious vases, and hence to argue that they were painted, such a mode of reasoning is unworthy of the gravity of history. In the second place we answer, that in our case the Vases spoken of, are not merely painted vases, but what is very different, masterly paintings on earthenware, rudely painted vases being found even in savage countries. But even supposing that by exception some Etruscan vase painted in a masterly style may be found in Greece; we see in this no reason for surprise, and we ask, which is most probable, that the Etrurians, lords of the sea and of Italy and of the Islands, should have introduced one or two of their fine vases into

Greece; or that the Greeks, who have never spoken a word of masterly paintings on earthen vases, should have brought to our Hypogea thousands of them, which in the first ages of Rome were already buried, or that Greek artists should have come to paint master-pieces in Etruria, which they never painted at home? We know too, that Aristophanes speaks ironically of painters of vases for the dead, which he would not have done, if the subjects they bore had been executed by able Grecian artists; and indeed it cannot be reasonably maintained that painting on earthenware vases ever flourished in Greece.

The Etruscan Colonies of Nola and Capua, afterwards called Magna Græcia and Sicily, part of which belonged to Etruria, may, indeed they naturally would, have caused some of the master-pieces of Etrurian painting to be carried either to some of the courts or temples of Greece, as in our own times we see in Italy some of the master-pieces of the modern manufactory of Sevres: but an exception proves nothing; and the exception grounded on the few painted vases found in Greece, appears to us very dubious; the value of a vase is enhanced by its being called Greek, and it is therefore possible that in the traffic of such articles, this Greek origin, devised from interested motives, and artfully supported, may have imposed on more than one honest Antiquary; but the learned of foreign countries from the love of truth, and those of Italy from the additional motive of their Country's glory, should now bear the torch into the midst of these mysteries. As to the Vases spoken of by the Chevalier Inghirami in his beautiful work, as found at Thebes and Corinth, these are of so rude a style, that their origin, even if it were proved, could have no weight in the question of the priority of paintings on earthenware vases, and we appeal on this point to the learning of the Chevalier Inghirami, and of Mr. Millingen, who was the first to illustrate these vases. The origin of historical monuments ought to be carefully proved by eye-witnesses, otherwise it remains doubtful, and a real Antiquary can only risk his system by resting it on an uncertain base. The origin being certain, we still have to ascertain that the painting has not been restored; besides the style of the drawing, which

cannot escape the observation of those artists who see the actual monuments, and are not content to reason upon copies of them, there is a certain method of discovering the culpable frauds which may falsify history; aqua-fortis reveals all. We therefore recommend that all Etruscan or pretended Greek paintings on the vases which it is proposed to make the subject of discussion, should be first submitted to the action of aqua-fortis, quite pure, and in copious quantity; to do otherwise would be to build palaces like children with cards, or to draw on the sands. He who talks of danger to the paintings on the vases from aqua-fortis, either speaks without having made the experiment, or has some concealed object; we have ascertained by experiments a thousand times repeated, that aqua-fortis produces no effect whatever on the ancient paintings of the Etruscan Vases, not even if they are left in it, while it reveals all modern restorations. To reason upon and illustrate Etruscan Vases without first submitting them to this great trial is no longer worthy of him who seeks the truth, and the trial we attest to be free from danger. Dissertations full of learning and erudition are scattered to the winds if they repose on monuments either partially or entirely falsified—and this would be to imitate the celebrated Annius, who with great labour has raised fabrics on imaginary foundations. Without the indispensable test of aqua-fortis, the science of Archæology would remain stationary for ever, or would lose itself in all sorts of errors unprofitable to all but to the authors of the restorations. We invite all those possessing Etruscan Vases to this test of aqua-fortis, offering to submit to it the whole of our monuments for the satisfaction of any one who may desire it.

Reconciliation of the Etruscan and Greek opinions.

In bringing this Note to a conclusion, we do not disguise from ourselves that to some it must appear rash to contradict an opinion embraced by so many learned Antiquaries; and we frankly confess that at first, although we had seen the Greek author Pausanias assert that Italy possessed bronze statues long before Greece, yet the received opinion

did not allow us to suppose that the Italians knew how to write or to paint before the Greeks, and if we had not had the dissertations of the Senator Buonarotti, and other learned authors to give us courage, we should not have dared to declare our opinion. The appearance of the monuments would not, perhaps, have been sufficient to inspire us with this resolution, and we should have contented ourselves with entertaining in silence a belief of what to us seemed evident; indeed, independently of Buonarotti and our discoveries, the authority of so many ancient and modern writers in favour of the priority of the arts in Greece, left such an impression on our mind, as sufficed to delay the publication of this Note, and it has only been finally determined on from the thorough conviction which we entertain, that the contradiction between so many learned men is only an apparent one, and that in reality the two opinions unite in the path of truth.

This is what remains to be proved; and, having done that, we shall have accomplished the task which these discoveries seem to impose on us.

First, it is a fact that two thousand paintings, among which are many master-pieces rivalling the finest works of Greece, have been discovered by us in the space of six months, in the centre of ancient Etruria. Every artist and antiquary may satisfy himself of this truth.

Secondly, these master-pieces in painting having remained unknown to the Romans, who plundered our shores long before the fine age of Greece, it evidently follows that these paintings were already buried in our Hypogea in the first ages of Rome.

Thirdly, Pliny speaks of excellent Etruscan paintings prior to the foundation of Rome, which were at Ardea.

Fourthly, Plutarch mentions the bronze chariot which the conqueror Romulus took in the ancient Etruscan city of Camerium, on which there was an inscription in characters similar to the Greek.

Fifthly, on the other hand, Tacitus names Demaratus, as the introducer of painting and letters in Etruria, and Cicero in his *Republic* writes that every thing was derived from the Greeks.

I only point out these authorities, this being, I am persuaded, sufficient to enable honest antiquaries to trace out the truth.

How would it be possible to reconcile such contradictions between so many men of the highest authority, both of ancient and modern times, without supposing that under the name of Greek, two nations entirely distinct from each other are confounded, (viz.) the Hellenian or Hellenist Greeks, and the Pelasgi, who belong equally to Greece and Italy, since in the most remote times they peopled both Greece and Etruria? How is it possible not to embrace the supposition (so simple) that the fine arts flourished in Italy at two distinct periods, the first in the ages before Rome, the epoch of Etruscan power, and which might be called the Etrusco-Pelasgian epoch; the second, after Demaratus, when the arts that had sunk in Italy, and were reviving in Greece, returned from Greece to the same Etruria, which, already many ages before, had carried them to perfection? Honestly seeking for the truth, I asked myself by what other supposition the contradictions of authors could be reconciled. I proposed to myself (putting aside the monuments of Canino) the solution of this problem in history, and I have become convinced that its solution can only be found in the ante-Roman epoch of the Etrusco-Pelasgian arts, and the subsequent epoch of the revival of these arts in Roman Etruria. I have become convinced that Buonarrotti, by the force of his genius, discovered the truth before chance restored to light the indisputable monuments of ante-Roman Etruria, and in re-perusing Winkelman and Lanzi it seemed clear to me, that they were only led to embrace the opinion in favour of Greece by the deficiency of Etruscan monuments. We see that the learned Lanzi, although he too was in some measure influenced by the Greek opinion, protests repeatedly that he does not mean to enter into the grand question, and that he speaks only of the monuments known to himself; indeed in speaking of the system of the learned Monsignor Guarnacci, he says distinctly, vol. i. p. 142, "it is possible that time may reserve for the examination of posterity some monument favourable to his opinion; but those we have openly contradict it." It ap-

pears to me then that I clearly discover the truth in the very admissions of my adversaries, a truth concealed from their eyes by the monuments known to them, and by them considered as posterior to Greece, but towards which in the absence of other monuments they were drawn by their genius; and I do not think that it can be honestly doubted but that Lanzi and Winkelman, on the first appearance of the Hypogea of Vitulonia, would have embraced the supposition of the two Italian epochs, which reconciles all opinions, although apparently contradictory.

The following are some quotations from Winkelman, which I submit to the impartial consideration of my readers:

1. "Le meilleur moyen de soutenir l'opinion commune en faveur des Etrusques serait de produire des vases trouvés effectivement en Toscane: mais jusqu'ici personne n'a pu en montrer." (Vol. i. p. 284, Paris edition.) Here are two thousand found on the banks of the Fiora (the ancient Ariminia) in the centre of ancient, and on the borders of modern, Etruria.

2. Vol. i. p. 240, "Quelques monuments découverts en Toscane et fort ressemblants au bon siècle de la Grèce nous font hésiter à distinguer les ouvrages Etrusques des Grecs." A few monuments! What would he say of thousands?

3. "Les Grecs ne marquaient pas les noms des Dieux et des Héros sur leurs figures." Many of our monuments bear upon them the names of the heroes and Gods, therefore they are not Greek by confession of Winkelman.

4. Page 246. "Mercure n'est barbu que dans les figures Etrusques." Mercury is represented with a beard on all our monuments, therefore these are Etruscan by confession of Winkelman.

5. Page 284. "Des personnes dignes de foi assurent que des vases ont été découverts à Corneto, d'où il résulterait que ces vases sont de fabrique Étrusque." Our vases then are Etruscan by confession of Winkelman. Who can doubt, but that if Winkelman were alive he would write very differently on the history of the arts, that he would confess that the priority in them belongs to Italy, and that in reading

the ancient authors, we ought not, like the supporters of the ultra-Greek opinion, to confound the ancient Etrusco-Pelasgians with the Etrusco-Hellenians, nor on the other hand with the Etrusco-Romans, like some supporters of the ultra-Etruscan opinion. Admitting the distinction of the two epochs now proved by facts, let all the ancient and modern authors be re-perused—Pliny, Cicero, Tacitus, Strabo, Dionysius, Servius, Diodorus, Livy, the great Senator Buonarotti, Dempster, Passeri, Gori, Guarnacci, Bourguet, Lanzi, Winkelman, &c. and there will no longer be found any contradiction. The earthenware vases with Etrusco-Pelasgian inscriptions (partially agreeing as they necessarily would with the ancient Greek of the Amyclæan and Sigæan inscriptions, &c.) are ante-Roman works of the Great Etruria, mistress of Italy and of the two seas.

All the characters of the most ancient Greek inscriptions, as the characters of the chariot of Romulus, belong, like the vases of Vitulonia, to the grand epoch of the first greatness of Italy, to the Etrusco-Pelasgian epoch, when that ancient people, which had come from the East to Arcadia, to Thessaly, to Etruria, and to the Islands, transporting its colonies from Italy to Greece, and back again from Greece to Italy, necessarily spoke and wrote the same language, which subsequently branched off into Greek and Etruscan, as all original languages branch off into various dialects.

All the monuments, on the other hand, of sculpture, or bronze, or medals, the urns of Volterra, &c. all the inscriptions in the Etruscan character approaching to the Latin, as the Eugubine tables, &c. all those monuments that have been illustrated and considered by modern Antiquaries as posterior to Greece, are in reality posterior, because belonging to the revival of the arts in Italy, or to the Etrusco-Roman epoch, which probably derives its lustre from Demaratus, as is mentioned by Tacitus. To this Etrusco-Roman epoch all the reasoning of our great modern Antiquaries applies most correctly, while the first Etrusco-Pelasgian epoch is reached by the sagacious Buonarotti and his followers, and by the undeniable fact of the discoveries at Canino,

which confirm beyond a doubt the priority of masterpieces in painting to Italy.

An Antiquary, for whom I entertain great esteem, seems to suppose that some Lydian Colonies, established in Etruria, may have brought hither the art of painting on earthen vases; but we have to remark that, if these colonies are posterior to Rome, they cannot have carried these masterpieces of ours to Etruria, without its having been mentioned by some Roman writer; if they are anterior to Rome, these Lydians, or Arcadians, or Thessalians, or Phœnicians, are no other than branches of the ancient Pelasgian people, are anterior to the fine age of the Greeks, and consequently the question is settled in favour of Italy.

It will never be known in what manner exactly the migrations of the nations of the East, after the dispersion, took place; but we are not seeking to trace out where these Oriental people went first; whether to Greece, to the islands, to Italy, to Spain, to the North, &c. Our object is to know in what part of the West these Oriental people, called Pelasgi, first laid the foundation of a social state, of a civilized empire, and of the fine arts which are their consequence. History had already declared the Etruscan empire to be anterior to the Trojan war, but refused to accord to this empire anteriority in the fine arts; this is exactly the point from which those who seek for the truth ought not to deviate. This point (unless we shut our eyes to the clearest evidence) is decided by our Etruscan, ante-Roman, Pelasgian discoveries. Greek, Phœnician, and other medals, are also talked of, but the most ancient medals do not go beyond a few ages before the vulgar era, a very modern epoch in comparison to that of Etruscan civilization, which, by confession of the Greek authors themselves, is anterior to the Trojan epoch; the medals (all of later date than the Etruscan Empire), and all the Oriental dialects posterior to that empire, can afford us but few traces and few etymologies; these lie hid in the earthenware monuments, alone anterior to medals, and in the characters of these monuments, which belong to the original Pelasgian language, from which all our dialects branched

off. The objections drawn from medals do not therefore seem more valid than the supposition about the Lydian Colonies.

Possibility of discovering the precise epoch of the Canino Monuments.

The epoch of our monuments, evidently ante-Roman, embraces probably some space of time anterior to Troy, and the ages between Troy and Rome; and with so many monuments bearing inscriptions, might not one discover an exact epoch? This has been the ultimate object of the reflections which we submit to Italian and foreign antiquaries, and especially to astronomers; many of the Vases of Vitulonia allude to the Theban and Trojan wars; these are evidently posterior to these wars; but many other Vases allude to unknown occurrences, and many represent symbolical scenes, which appear in some measure to establish the system of the distinguished Chevalier Inghirami, and which the eye of the astronomer recognizes decidedly as representations of the state of the heavens at some period or other, written symbolically on the clay, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Would not the explanation, which the learned Chevalier has given of some Vases of little importance, the origin of which has not been proved, and about the preservation and restoration of which there is much uncertainty, and which being of indifferent workmanship are therefore less fit to serve as annals of the ancient heavens, would not all these admirable illustrations of subjects, ill adapted to receive them, be better applied to our ante-Roman master-pieces, of which the origin is certain and the preservation perfect.

We take the liberty of making this appeal to the illustrious antiquary and astronomer of modern Etruria, in the hope that in illustrating the monuments of ancient Pelasgian Etruria, he may not only illustrate some of our symbolical Vases, but in the astronomical illustration of them discover the state of an epoch of the heavens, which may give us the precise epoch of these same monuments; and what more noble field can be opened to history than that of penetrating the most remote ages

by astronomical calculations, sole unalterable documents of mundane events, when the genius of man can succeed in unveiling them? The same hope which we express to Signor Inghirami we entertain also with respect to the learned antiquaries who adorn Italy, England, Germany, and France, whence so many rays of light have emanated, and still continue to flow; France, who in her immortal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, has carried the torch of criticism further than any, into the obscure antiquity of the first ages.

As for me, I consider myself to be fulfilling a duty imposed on me in giving publicity to my discoveries, and suggesting the reflections which have arisen in my mind, not pretending to enter the lists with authority, and now leaving the field open to those who search after the truth.

Canino, June 2d, 1829.

XV. *A Reply to Mr. Tytler's "Historical Remarks on the Death of Richard the Second:"* by THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., Treasurer, in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 9th December, 1830.

James Street, Westminster, 29 Nov. 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

IN an Enquiry which I addressed to you some years ago, concerning the death of Richard the Second, I took occasion to advert to the rumours prevalent after the date usually assigned to that event, relative to his supposed escape into Scotland, and his death and burial at Stirling.^a The story on which these rumours were founded, and to which no credit had been given by any English historian of established reputation, has lately been revived, and its truth defended with much plausibility and ingenuity, by Mr. Fraser Tytler, in an elaborate Dissertation subjoined to the third volume of his valuable History of Scotland. The name and authority of the writer would be sufficient to excite attention to his statements, even if they had not already attracted the notice of two of the most distinguished of his countrymen, though with different results as to the impression produced on them. Sir Walter Scott, on the one hand, has fully avowed his belief in the relation,^b while on the other, Sir James Mackintosh has, with equal decision, expressed his dissent from it.^c Had it fallen within the plan of the latter

^a Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 426, note.

^b Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 250.

^c Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 381, note.

eminent person to state the reasons for his adherence to the common narrative more in detail, and with reference to the authorities on which they were grounded, any further attempt on my part to investigate the subject would have been superfluous. But, as the case now stands, I may be permitted to offer a more circumstantial reply to Mr. Tytler's arguments, bearing in mind the courtesy he has uniformly shown in his references to my former observations.

Mr. Tytler's belief in the statement of which he is the able and zealous advocate, is founded on the contemporary narratives of Bower and Winton, corroborated and confirmed, as he conceives, by an ancient manuscript Chronicle in the Advocates' Library, and more particularly by the printed, but yet unpublished, Accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland.

Of the published relations, that of Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, the Continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, and who was living at the period in question, appears to be the most relied on by Mr. Tytler, as being the most positive and precise. It states that Richard, having escaped from Pontefract Castle, travelled in disguise to the Scottish Isles, where, in the kitchen of Donald, Lord of those Isles, he was discovered by a jester, who had been educated in his own Court at London: that he was then sent by Donald, under Lord Montgomery's charge, to King Robert the Third, with whom he lived honourably, and after whose death he was delivered over to the Regent Albany: that he at length died at the Castle of Stirling, and was buried in the church of the Preaching Friars.^d In a subsequent passage Bower states that many English fugitives came to Richard in Scotland; but that when the Earl of Northumberland fled thither, Richard could not be persuaded to have an interview with him.^e

This story, or the greater part of it, is corroborated, as Mr. Tytler maintains, by Winton, Prior of Lochleven, whose metrical Chronicle he conceives to have been composed before Bower's History was begun. As Bower does not mention Winton's work, Mr. Tytler infers that he

^d Hearne's edition of Fordun and Bower, vol. iv. p. 1133. Goodal's ditto, vol. ii. p. 427.

^e Hearne's ed. iv. p. 1166. Goodal's, ii. p. 441.

had never seen it, and that the two relations therefore proceeded from unconnected, yet concurring witnesses. This perhaps might seem doubtful, when we recollect the frequent and abundant proofs given by our own early Chroniclers, of their obligations to the labours of their contemporaries which were extant in neighbouring monasteries, although even their literal transcriptions are uniformly made without acknowledgment. In the present case, however, it may be admitted, that the two stories vary sufficiently from each other to induce a belief that each was separately derived from one common source, namely, the vague uncertain rumours of the day. Winton tells us, that Richard, after his confinement in the Tower, had been delivered at Pontefract to "tow wele trowit famous men," Swinburne and Waterton, who took great pity on him, and spread the news of his death: that afterwards there was a rumour that he was living, upon which Winton, without professing to know how he escaped, proceeds to relate, that a poor man travelling in the Scottish Isles, was recognized by an Irish lady, Donald's sister-in-law, to be the King Richard she had formerly seen in Ireland: that the stranger denied himself to be Richard, but was nevertheless sent to the Lord Montgomery, who conveyed him to King Robert: that he was afterwards in the charge of the Lord of Cumbernald and the Duke of Albany, who held him a long time after: but that

"Qhethir he had bene King or nane,
'Thare wes bot few that wust certane."

Winton adds, that he had no devotion, and seldom was disposed to hear mass, but seemed half mad or wild.^f

On a comparison of these two statements, it will readily be seen how much the direct unqualified assertions of Bower are weakened by the doubting, though more circumstantial narrative of Winton, who professes merely to "say the tale as 'twas said" to him; though like the last Border Minstrel, he "he cannot tell how the truth may be." The circumstantiality, however, of Winton's story, is held by Mr. Tytler to be

^f Winton's Chronicle, by M'Pherson, vol. ii. p. 387, 388, 389.

a great point in favour of its credit. The names of Swinburne and Waterton being first noticed in this passage as the keepers of Richard at Pontefract, appear to him, little as that fact is connected with the subsequent tale, to be an important discovery, more especially as it is corroborated by a family tradition, that Sir Robert Waterton had been so employed, though no such information is extant with respect to Sir Thomas Swinburne. He, it is true, is found at a later period to have been sent by Henry the Fourth on a mission to Bruges, while Waterton was often similarly employed, besides being Henry's Master of the Horse. But does it not at once forcibly occur to us, that, if Henry had been aware (as he surely must have been, if the story were true) that these men had been accessory to Richard's escape, or at least had concealed that fact, by spreading false rumours of his death, a very different reward than places and embassies would have instantly awaited them? The discovery, in order to be useful to Mr. Tytler's hypothesis, should have shown that the false keepers had been disgraced and punished, not elevated to posts of trust and honour.^g

^g It may here be noticed that I am assured by my respected friend Sir John Swinburne, Bart. of Capheaton (the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, and a descendant of Sir Thomas Swinburne above named) that he entirely concurs with me in the opinion I have expressed on this point of the controversy. He has also obligingly confirmed to me the communication which he made to Mr. Tytler, upon the information of his friend Mr. Waterton, who appears to have good reason to believe that his ancestor, Sir Robert Waterton, was Constable of Pontefract Castle at the period of Richard's confinement. How long Sir Richard held that office does not appear, but it is certain that he continued to enjoy the sunshine of royal favour during the reign of his master, Henry the Fourth, by whom, in an instrument in Rymer's *Fœdera* (vol. viii. p. 190) dated the 20th April 1401, he is called "*Domicellum nostrum*." While adverting to this subject, I will take the opportunity of referring to an extract, furnished to me by Mr. Ellis, from a MS. in the British Museum, (Lansd. 213, fol. 319) containing the relation of a journey through a part of England in 1634, by "a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient" of a military company in Norwich. Among other places, this odd travelling triumvirate visited Pontefract Castle, which had then seven famous towers of amplitude, the highest of them, called the Round Tower, in which Richard the Second was "enforc'd to flee round a poste till his barbarous butchers inhumanly depriv'd him of life." They add that "upon that poste,

The next novelty in Winton's relation is, that Bower's court jester is transformed into an Irish lady; a variation which, though whimsical enough, is certainly not very material, further than as it serves to show that the rumours in circulation were loose and indefinite. One of them, as related by Hector Boece, was, that Richard escaped from prison in woman's clothes.^b But upon Winton's statement of the denial of the poor stranger that he was King Richard, a great stress is laid by Mr. Tytler, as he deems it an extraordinary step to be taken by an impostor, but a natural one to be adopted by the fugitive King himself, Donald of the Isles being at that time in close alliance with Henry the Fourth.ⁱ Now, in the first place, had Donald then been so allied, it is difficult to conceive why the real Richard should have chosen to resort to his dominions; but having done so, it is perfectly unaccountable that Donald did not at once send the detected Prince to Henry, to whom he would have been a most welcome prize, instead of committing him to the dangerous custody of his Scottish adversary. And next, it really does not appear by any means extraordinary, that a poor miserable wanderer, such as the stranger is described to have been, should have rejected, in the first instance, a title which did not belong to

the cruel hackings and fierce blows doe still remaine." It thus appears that the Exton battle-axe story, now generally and justly discredited, was the received tradition at Pontefract two centuries ago, and that, at all events, no doubt was entertained of that Castle having been the place of Richard's death.

^b Boethii Scot. Hist. lib. xvi. p. 339, ed. 1574.

ⁱ To prove this alliance Mr. Tytler refers to the Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 156. But on turning to the License for the safe conduct of Donald and his brother John, contained in that page, it would seem that *John*, and not Donald, was at that date (5 Feb. 1400-1) Lord of the Isles; Donald being merely described as the brother of John, who is called "*Johannes de Insulis, Dominus de Dunwage et de Glynnis.*" It is right however to state that in a preceding treaty in Rymer's *Fœdera* (viii. p. 146) not reprinted in *Rot. Scotiæ*, and not referred to by Mr. Tytler, the relative position of these brothers is reversed. The date of this treaty is 2 June 1400, about four months after Richard's reputed death at Pontefract. The first document, I believe, in which the rumours of Richard's being alive in Scotland are noticed, is Henry's Proclamation "*Super Fabricatoribus Mendaciorum,*" in Rymer, viii. p. 261, which is dated 5 June 1402.

him, and which might subject him to the most fatal consequences; or that afterwards, when he found himself unexpectedly removed to safe and comfortable quarters, he should have ceased to persist in a denial that would have forfeited his only claim to their continuance. It matters not whether his conviction that he was a king was effected in the mode by which Shakespeare's Tinker was cajoled into the belief that he was a lord, or was produced by the more coercive measures which "feelingly persuaded" Moliere's Woodcutter that he was a learned physician. Like each of those worthies, he might have found it convenient and agreeable to acquiesce in the arguments of those who sought to "thrust greatness upon him." Winton, indeed, has subsequently supplied us with an admirable apology for the captive's ultimate assumption of royalty, namely, by stating that he was a maniac; it being a well-known delusion affecting persons in that unfortunate state to fancy themselves monarchs. A more unkind imputation, however, is fixed on him by Winton, who tells us he was without devotional feelings, and would seldom be induced to attend mass. This account differs at least from that of Hector Boece, who describes him as having passed a strictly religious life in his retirement at Stirling.^k

It should be here noticed, that Winton's cautious doubts respecting the identity of the captive Richard are supposed by Mr. Tytler to have proceeded from a tender feeling towards the memory of Albany, of whom he was the apologist and admirer. But this belief is founded on a conjecture that Henry and Albany maintained a secret understanding relative to the detention of their respective prisoners, James of Scotland and Richard of England. Whether such an understanding ever existed, is a question that will be considered hereafter; but, if it did exist, it was not likely to have been known to the Prior of Lochleven, who would probably have been far more ready to commend Albany for affording a safe and honourable asylum to a dethroned monarch, than to expose him to censure for knowingly harbouring an impostor. The doubts he has expressed therefore were probably grounded in honest incredulity.

^k Lib. xvi. p. 339, ed. 1574.

Of Mr. Tytler's unpublished authorities, the manuscript Chronicle in the Advocates' Library, which he conjectures to have been written posterior to the time of Fordun, and prior to the date of Bower's Continuation, serves to confirm the by no means improbable fact of the English fugitives having flocked to the supposed Richard. It also adds, to the account of his death, a copy of the epitaph which was inscribed on his monument. Of the erection of that monument, which was still visible in the time of Hector Boece,¹ no reasonable doubt can be entertained. It was quite consistent with that course of policy which continued to furnish to the real or supposed Richard the honourable asylum due to an exiled monarch, that the place of his burial should have been distinguished by a suitable and respectful memorial. Not a single step, however, is here advanced towards the proof of his identity.^m

With respect to the lately printed, but hitherto unpublished, Accounts of the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, of which an interesting notice is given by Mr. Tytler in the Illustrations at the end of his second volume, their value as authentic historical records is indisputable. But with reference to the question now before us, the extracts which have been furnished by Mr. Tytler, relating to the expenses incurred by Albany, and not reimbursed to him, for the custody of the supposed king, appear to me to supply no additional evidence whatever as to his identity. The proofs that some person, whoever he may have been, was so detained in custody, required no such confirmation; and it is equally clear that considerable charges must have been incurred in maintaining him suitably to his supposed rank. No claim could decently have been advanced, or even adverted to, for the maintenance of an acknowledged impostor. It may indeed admit of a question whether the fact established by these records, that the Regent neither

¹ Lib. xvi. p. 339, ed. 1574.

^m The fragment of a Chronicle printed from Asloan's MS. at the Auchinlech press by the late Sir Alexander Boswell, and adverted to in the *Archæologia*, xx. p. 427 (note) has not been cited by Mr. Tytler in support of his theory. It adds nothing, indeed, in point of authority, to the other works referred to.

asked nor received from the public treasury any reimbursement of these expenses, may not afford an inference that he had retained his captive for objects of private and personal policy, and that the doubts which we collect from Winton to have existed in Scotland, as to the real rank of the captive, might have induced him to refrain from enforcing a demand which otherwise could not, on public grounds, have been refused. I hazard this conjecture, however, without having an opportunity of consulting the whole of the unpublished Accounts. Be this as it may, the position that the harboured stranger was not an impostor appears to me to be no more established by evidence of charges incurred in his maintenance, than the opposite fact of the interment of the real king at Langley would be allowed by Mr. Tytler to be proved by a production of the Exchequer accounts of the funeral expenses. The Richard in England was buried—the Richard in Scotland was clothed and fed—and no historical documents can be required to prove that expenses were incurred in both these services.

So complete, nevertheless, is Mr. Tytler's reliance on the evidence of the Chamberlain Rolls, that he considers the supposition that a poor maniac impostor could have been supported at great expense, and detained more than eleven years at the Scottish Court, to be so extravagant, that he does not envy the task of any one who may undertake to support it.^a To this I unhesitatingly answer, that, under the circumstances in which Albany was placed, I conceive his detention of the real king to be a supposition far more improbable and indefensible. The contrary hypothesis (as I have before noticed) is founded on a supposed secret understanding between Albany and Henry, as to the safe custody of their respective prisoners, Richard and James. But besides that there was another captive in Henry's power, whose release Albany was most anxious to obtain, namely his own son Murdoch, the existence of any such compact, either expressed or implied, seems completely negatived by the very frequent but abortive attempts at

^a Vol. iii. p. 340.

negociation which continued to take place between the two contending powers throughout the whole remainder of Henry's reign.^o Mr. Tytler's supposition that it was never proposed in any of these negociations to get the impostor into Henry's hands, or to expose the cheat by insisting on his being delivered up, is erroneous, as I shall show by the transcript of a letter in the Cotton Library, addressed to Henry by Archbishop Arundel, which will appear in an Appendix to this Paper. That the attempt was not persisted in, seems likely to have been owing to the indifference which Henry felt towards the accomplishment of such an object, after the public sensation produced by the rumour had in a great measure subsided. Would this have been his feeling, had the real Richard been the subject of his negociation? Or for such a golden prize, would the detention of the young Duke Murdoch have been deemed by him a reasonable equivalent? The supposition is too improbable for belief, and it is only to Henry's actual knowledge of the imposture that we can ascribe his unwillingness to release Murdoch on any other terms than those of a large pecuniary ransom. His successor, Henry the Fifth, however, agreed to exchange the Regent's son for a prisoner at the Scottish Court. But who was the prisoner selected by Henry for this exchange? Not the real or supposed Richard, but Henry Percy, the proscribed Earl of Northumberland, son and grandson of the two bitterest foes of the house of Lancaster! Can we for a moment believe that Albany, on the one hand, who manifested a constant restless anxiety for his son's release, would have hesitated to proffer the exchange of the supposed royal captive, had Henry been willing to accept it? Or that Henry, on his part, would not have been eager to gain possession of the real King's person, however slightly he might have estimated that of an impostor? Yet Mr. Tytler, on the contrary, would induce a belief that the two English Monarchs had been always afraid to risk the consequences of Richard's enlargement. To this I answer, that, if such a secret understanding subsisted between Albany

^o See the very numerous documents connected with these negociations, which have been published in Rymer's *Fœdera* and the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, hereafter referred to.

and the Henries as Mr. Tytler supposes (an assumption however which I think myself entitled to treat as gratuitous, it being contradicted, as I conceive, by the tenor of all official documents and private correspondence now extant,) there would not have been wanting means to dispose of the captive sovereign without a public disclosure of his identity. But even if there had ever been a compact between Henry the Fourth and Albany for the mutual detention of their prisoners, James and Richard, it is quite clear that Henry the Fifth, on his accession to the throne, had not become a party to it, since he offered the release of James for the ransom of a hundred thousand marks,^p without any stipulation whatever respecting the captive at Stirling, whose situation he seems to have treated as a matter of perfect indifference, when placed in competition with a sum of money, useful to him in the prosecution of his designs against France. This negotiation Mr. Tytler supposes to have been frustrated by Albany, whose power would have terminated on the return of his lawful sovereign. Whatever was the cause of failure, the case of the prisoner at Stirling was never brought into the scale in this or any other negotiation during Henry the Fifth's reign. To adopt a vulgar illustration, it would appear that Albany had kept his commodity till it had become no longer marketable. Whatever excitement might have been created by the early rumours that Richard was living, the English people had generally ceased to credit them. The supposed king therefore was quietly suffered to remain an useless rent-charge on the Regent's private purse, for it appears by the Chamberlain Accounts before referred to, that he either judged it inexpedient or found it impracticable, to enforce its reimbursement from the public revenues.

It is here proper to notice another supposed source of evidence to which Mr. Tytler has referred, though certainly in very loose and

^p Rymer, ix. p. 417. Rot. Scotiæ, ii. p. 219. It was intended in effect to be a ransom of that amount, as James was to be allowed to visit Scotland for a limited period, and the sum in question was to be paid in the event of his not returning to England at its expiration.

general terms. He says, (page 373) "It was originally my intention to have entered into an examination of the diplomatic correspondence which took place subsequent to this period, between Albany, the Governor of Scotland, and Henry the Fourth and Fifth; in which I think it would not be difficult to point out various transactions, creating a strong presumption that Albany was in possession of the true King Richard. The limits, however, within which I must confine these observations will not permit me to accomplish this; and any intelligent reader who will take the trouble to study this correspondence, as it is given in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, will not find it difficult to discover and arrange the proofs for himself." In conformity with this suggestion, I have bestowed some attention on an examination of the documents published in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, connected with the period to which Mr. Tytler refers, but certainly without finding a single expression in any one of them which appears to me either directly or indirectly to notice or allude to Albany's possession of the real or supposed Richard. Without meaning to undervalue the collection of Records in question, which, in its present form, is undoubtedly a safe and useful guide to the Scottish historian, as far as the facts and dates which it supplies are material to his purpose, I cannot yet help remarking that nearly all the important State papers it contains, relating to the period of our inquiries, had already been printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*,^q and had, therefore, for a full century before their re-publication by the Record Commission, been open to the perusal of former writers. In so large a mass of Records, the total absence of any allusions whatever to the point under our

^q Compare the principal documents in pp. 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 177, 183, 192, 193, 194, 199, 206, 213, 214, 215, and 219 of vol. ii. of the *Rot. Scotiæ*, with the corresponding articles in pp. 345, 362, 368, 371, 385, 388, 430, 479, 609, 630, 631, and 704, of vol. viii. and pp. 40, 240, 302, 303, 323, 324, and 417, of vol. ix. of Rymer's *Fœdera*. These references will be found to comprize nearly all that is important in the *Rot. Scotiæ*, during the period in question, viz. from 1404 to 1419. The other documents belonging to that period will be seen to be chiefly Licences for safe conduct, and Commissions for the custody of the Marches.

discussion, must surely be considered as a very strong additional proof of the truth of the position I have been endeavouring to establish, namely, that after the early rumours of Richard's preservation and captivity had subsided, both Henry the Fourth and his successor had become wholly indifferent to the subject of them; an indifference which can only be accounted for by their thorough conviction of the fraud which had been attempted to be practised on them. Had it been otherwise, we should surely have found (as Mr. Tytler expected we should find) some covert allusions at least to the prisoner at Stirling Castle, in the "never-ending, still beginning" negotiations between the English Monarchs and the Scottish Regent.

As it is clear, however, that some person, whoever he may have been, was actually detained in Scotland, in the manner before described, Mr. Tytler appears to think, that those who deny that he was the real Richard, are bound to show who was the mysterious personage by whom that monarch was represented. This seems to me to be neither necessary nor practicable. Whether the *Mummet* of Scotland, as he is called in a remarkable passage in a letter of Henry the Fifth,^r of which Mr. Tytler has given a satisfactory explanation, was Thomas Warde, of Trumpington, who had been encouraged in his imposture by Serle and the Countess of Oxford; or was some forlorn wanderer, casually pressed into the service from his personal resemblance to Richard, it seems now quite hopeless to inquire. But it is proper to notice, that there is no such discrepancy as Mr. Tytler has represented, between the description given of Warde in Henry the Fourth's Proclamation, preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*,^s and that which appears in the proceedings recorded in the Rolls of Parliament against the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey.^t It is not stated in the former, that he was "in his sound senses," nor in the latter, that he was a Scotchman. The words

^r Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 2.

^s Vol. viii. p. 353. The description in the Proclamation is simply "Thomas Warde de Trumpington, qui se pretende et feigne d'estre Roy Richard."

^t Vol. iv. p. 65.

de Scotia in the latter record, perhaps misled Mr. Tytler, as appearing to refer to the country to which he belonged, instead of that from which he was to be brought by the conspirators. With respect to Warde, indeed, his very existence seems to be denied by Mr. Tytler, who treats the whole story as the fabrication of Henry the Fourth, apparently considering the impostor of Trumpington to have been purely a creature of the King's poetical fancy; just as the "proud Miller" of the same well-known village, "there dwelling many a day," had been of Chaucer's. It is hardly possible to reply seriously to such an objection, made in the face of an historical document like the Proclamation in Rymer; yet it may be observed, that Henry would hardly have located his imaginary impostor on a spot so popularly known from its immediate vicinity to the University of Cambridge. But whoever, to use Mr. Tytler's words, was "the portentous person who was to enact King Richard the Second," I must admit that it is no proof of his idiocy that he refused to see Northumberland, whose intimate knowledge of his late master would, as Buchanan has justly remarked, have enabled him at once to detect the imposture. It is worthy of notice, that Northumberland's journey into Scotland appears, from Bower's account of it, to have been made about the time of King Robert's death, which occurred in April 1406, while the date of June 1405 is assigned by Mr. Tytler to the letter addressed by Northumberland to the Duke of Orleans, in which a doubt was equivocally expressed, whether Richard was not still living.^x The journey therefore did not suggest the doubt; which, if it were ever seriously entertained by Northumberland's party, certainly did not exist when they issued their Letter of Defiance at Shrewsbury in 1403,^y neither did it continue till the period when the second manifesto was put forth by Archbishop Scrope. I must here remark, that, in quoting

^x In this Letter, which is preserved in the Rolls of Parliament (vol. iii. p. 6), Northumberland says it is his purpose "*de sustener le droit querelle de mon Souverain S'r le Roy Richard, s'il est vif, et si mort est, de venger sa mort.*" No language could be more cautiously hypothetical.

^y Archæologia, xvi. p. 140. Hardyng's Chronicle by Ellis, p. 353.

my observations on the latter document, Mr. Tytler seems to infer, that the addition of the words "*ut vulgariter dicitur*," implied a doubt whether Richard was actually dead. But on turning to the manifesto itself, as it is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, it most plainly appears that these words had reference only to the *manner* of his death, it being abundantly clear from the context, that no doubt whatever was meant to be suggested as to the certainty of the event itself, by whatever means it might have been occasioned.²

Having thus endeavoured to show that the particular authorities adduced by Mr. Tytler, do not furnish him even with an *ex parte* case, I shall now state more briefly the reasons which further induce me to believe the fact received and transmitted by all our English historians of reputation, and by most of those of the Northern kingdom, that Richard died in the first year of Henry the Fourth's reign.

1. *The public exposure of the corpse brought to London from Pontefract, and its interment at Langley.* For these facts we have the testimony of at least four contemporary writers of acknowledged credit, Otterbourne, Walsingham, Froissart, and Hardyng. Otterbourne says, the body was conveyed through public places, and shown uncovered, in order that it might be known, from the lower part of the forehead down to the throat.^a Walsingham confirms the account of the journey of the corpse, and the masses said over it at St. Paul's, in the presence of the King and the citizens of London.^b Froissart tells us, that more than twenty thousand persons came to see King Richard, who lay in the litter at Cheapside full two hours, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered.^c But Hardyng's testimony (which is the more valuable from his being a retainer and partizan of the Percies) goes still further; for he informs us, that he saw the corpse when it lay

² *Anglia Sacra*, ii. p. 362. In this eloquent philippic against Henry, great stress is laid on Richard's death, though the mode of its occurrence is admitted to be uncertain.

^a "Ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scil. ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur." Otterb. p. 222.

^b P. 405, edit. 1574.

^c "Le chef sur un oreillier noir, e visage decouvert," vol. iv. chap. 119.

in state at St. Paul's.^d All these authors notice the funeral at Langley, which is more particularly described by Otterbourne and Walsingham. It should here be mentioned, that Creton, the French contemporary writer, whose metrical History has been so ably edited by Mr. Webb, believed the body to have been, not Richard's, but that of Maudelain, his chaplain, who resembled him.^e Such a fraud seems to have been impracticable, as Maudelain had been beheaded,^f nor is it likely that this resemblance, whatever effect it might have produced during the march of the rebel army through the country, could have deceived the citizens of London, to whom (as well as most probably to Hardyng) their late monarch's person must have been well known, and in the very place too, as described by Shakspeare,

"Where rude misgovern'd hands from window's tops
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head."

Mr. Tytler, however, is not satisfied with the mode in which the corpse was exposed, because the yellow hair of Richard is not said to have been shown, and because it is not expressed that any person was permitted to uncover the head and face. Now, in the first place, the hair might have been, and probably was, partially exposed on the sides of that part of the face which was left uncovered;—while the second objection would have been more cogent, if the authorities had stated, that a minute examination of the body had been actually demanded and refused—a fact which nothing contained in them can lead us to infer. It is surely no impeachment of the truth of the general accounts of the exposure of the corpse that they do not descend to such minute particulars. As well might I object to the Scottish authorities relied on by Mr. Tytler, because they do not describe the yellow hair, the lisping speech, and the other peculiarities of the real Richard, as proofs of identity apparent in the captive at Stirling. Mr. Tytler adds his suspicion, that the non-interment of the corpse at Westminster was occasioned by Henry's fear

^d "In herse rial *his corse lay there I se.*" Lansdowne MS. of Hardyng's Chronicle.

^e Archæologia, vol. xx. pp. 221, 409.

^f Otterbourne, 228. Walsingham, 404.

of the further exposure to which it would be subjected, in removing it from the litter, arraying it for the grave, and placing it in the coffin. But he forgets that all these ceremonies must have been performed at Langley, in the presence of many discontented witnesses—for discontented they could not fail to have been, since Walsingham gravely tells us they were not invited to dinner when the ceremony was concluded;^g—an indignity admirably calculated to loosen their tongues, had they discovered any attempt to practise deception.

2. *The subsequent removal of the body from Langley, and its re-interment in Westminster Abbey, by the order of Henry the Fifth.* This, which has always been represented as an act of grateful respect on Henry's part towards the memory of his early patron (for whom, at his re-interment, he mourned as for a father^h) proves that no doubt was entertained by him of the reality of Richard's death. Had the new monarch, who could not fail to be well informed of the fact, or even had any considerable portion of his subjects, supposed Richard to be still living, it is not to be credited that he would have sanctioned a solemn mockery, the certain effect of which would have been to revive the compassion of the people for their captive sovereign.

3. *The conduct of the Percies and of Archbishop Scrope, in spreading by their manifestoes the reports of Richard's death.* This point has been already touched upon, in adverting to the argument which Mr. Tytler has founded on Northumberland's letter to Orleans, and his visit to Scotland. But I must here further remark, that, had the Percys believed the true Richard to be really alive in Scotland, they would not have failed, in hoisting the flag of insurrection, to use the King's name as a "tower of strength," for, by reinstating him, they would have best promoted the interests, not only of the infant Mortimer,ⁱ whose father

^g "Nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem." Walsingham, 405. See also the *Ypodigma Neustriæ* of the same author, p. 158, edit. 1574.

^h Otterb. 274. Walsing. 430.

ⁱ Edmond Mortimer, the heir to the Crown, was but eleven years old when the battle of Shrewsbury took place. See his Life by my late friend Dr. Sayers, in his *Collective Works*, edited by Mr. W. Taylor, vol. ii. p. 308; Norwich, 1823, and Mr. Malone's

had formerly been proclaimed by Richard as his heir; but of themselves also, by insuring, as their certain reward from the restored King, the dominion of the Northern Counties, which they now aspired to obtain by a title of far less security. It could not but occur to them, that by dethroning Henry, while his predecessor was actually alive, and not in their power, they would have "scotched the snake, not killed it," and the lawful monarch would have remained a rallying standard for the adversaries of these new usurpers.

4. *The marriage of Isabella, Richard's second Queen, to Charles of Orleans.* The argument derived from this fact, was first advanced, I believe, by Biondi, in his History of the Civil Wars,^k and lately by Sir James Mackintosh. The latter justly observes, that "this marriage, which took place in 1406, affords a tolerable presumption that her family had sufficient assurance of Richard's death twelve years before the time assigned to it by the Scottish tradition."¹ To that remark I will add, that we learn from Froissart, that Richard's death was for a considerable time prudently concealed from his Queen.^m This tempo-

Letter subjoined to it. The Edmond Mortimer who was taken prisoner by Owen Glendower, and afterwards married his daughter, was the uncle of the young Earl of March. Shakspeare's mistake was occasioned by Hall's mistranslation of the Letter of Defiance issued by the Percies before the battle of Shrewsbury.

^k Biondi's remarks on the whole question appear to me so sensible and just, that I shall not hesitate to transcribe them from Lord Monmouth's translation, the work being now little read in either language. Noticing the narrative of the Scottish Historians, he says, "But if this had been true, the English writers would have had some little light thereof, somewhat whispering or tradition of it would have been among the common people; Scotland would have made some advantage thereby; France would not have been quiet; Henry would not have demanded Richard's widow for his sonne, nor would Charles have married her into the House of Orleans; Richard would either have retired himself to France to his wife and father-in-law, or having a minde to become one of the religious in Scotland, he would have procured, by dispensation from Rome, a nullifying of his contracted though not consummated marriage." History of the Civil Warres of England between the two Houses of Lancaster and York, p. 56.

¹ Note at the end of vol. i.

^m Vol. iv. chap. 119.

rary concealment of that event seems to have rendered satisfactory proof of its having taken place the more necessary at a subsequent period, when the second marriage was proposed to her. Nor can it be questioned, that the doubts respecting Richard's death, which had been suggested by Northumberland's letter to Orleans himself in 1405, must have been thoroughly sifted by that Prince, before his actual marriage with the Queen in the following year. Their issue would otherwise have risked the penalties of illegitimacy. But the fact adverted to by Biondi, that Henry the Fourth himself demanded Isabella for his son's bride, is still more to our purpose, as it furnishes a strong additional proof, that he, who could not be ignorant of the truth, well knew her husband to be dead. For it is impossible to believe that so prudent a Monarch would have sought an alliance which, had Richard's death been doubtful, might render the claims of his descendants to the Crown of England liable to be set aside on the ground of bastardy.

5. *The slight feeling excited in this country during the greater portion of the supposed Richard's long residence in Scotland, a period of no less than nineteen years.* The interest in fact which the rumours had created, seems hardly to have extended beyond the first four or five years of that period. We know from the Proclamations in Rymer's *Fœdera*,^a and the prosecutions which followed them, that these rumours were prevalent during the early part of Henry the Fourth's reign. We know too that they had not wholly ceased when the Earl of Northumberland, in 1405, wrote to Orleans in the terms before noticed, nor at a rather later date, when Archbishop Arundel addressed to Henry the letter to which I have already referred, and which will appear in an Appendix to this Paper. But from the latter period till after the commencement of Henry the Fifth's reign, we hear nothing of the captive king. We are then told, indeed, by the Rolls of Parliament, that one

^a Rymer, viii. pp. 261, 353.

of the objects of the conspiracy entered into by the Earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey in 1415 (placed by Mr. Tytler, doubtless by a typographical error, in the succeeding year) was to bring the counterfeit Richard from Scotland; ° though we learn from Cambridge's confession, preserved by Rymer, that he "wot well" that Richard was not alive.ª This confession is pronounced by Mr. Tytler to be absurd and inconsistent. It appears to me, however, to be a record incontrovertibly proving the utter hopelessness of any attempt at that time to palm the imaginary king on the English people. Nor do I conceive that a contrary inference can fairly be drawn from the random assertion said by Walsingham to have been made by Sir John Oldcastle at his trial, as to his belief that Richard was still alive; an assertion which, though Mr. Tytler lays much stress on it, seems to have been casually hazarded in his extremity, as a demurrer to the authority of his Judges. From the proceedings against him, extant in the Rolls of Parliament,³ and given more in detail by Fox,⁴ it appears that his main object had been the reformation of the Church, to which the return of the abdicated monarch could not have been in any way conducive. It is, at all events, evident, that during the last thirteen years of the supposed King's life, not more than two abortive attempts were made to excite the public sympathy in his behalf; unless indeed the Regent's celebrated expedition, nicknamed the *Foul Raid*, had any such purpose as Walsingham has ascribed to it,⁵ which Mr. Tytler does not assert, having, in the body of his History, noticed that disgraceful event with unusual brevity.†

In addition to the above reasons for rejecting the Northern story, I cannot help taking into account the utter discredit thrown upon it by all the English and most of the Scottish Historians. From Hall, Stow,

° Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 65.

ª Rymer, ix. 300. The internal evidence of the genuineness of this confession will appear strong and satisfactory, as I conceive, to those who will take the trouble of examining it.

q Vol. iv. p. 107.

ʳ Acts and Monuments, vol. i. 726, 845, edit. 1641.

• Wals. Hist. Ang. 446.

† Vol. iii. p. 189.

and Holinshed, down to Rapin, Carte, and Lingard, no writer of English History has ever treated it otherwise than with contemptuous incredulity. Nor has any Horace Walpole of the Southern clime ever exercised his ingenuity in classing it among our Historic Doubts. Even Hume and Henry have not allowed their national feelings to influence their sober judgment. As to the professed historians of Scotland, Buchanan has strongly marked his unqualified dissent from it, while Pinkerton, who will not be accused of any reluctance to support a novel theory, has dismissed it with disdain. The latter, it may be observed, had access to the Chamberlain Accounts, from which he has given some extracts in his Appendix. He therefore may have examined and rejected the very evidence on which Mr. Tytler, in his Appendix, appears so confidently to rely; though in justice to the latter it should be noticed, that even he (to use his own words) has not ventured "without further discussion, to transplant this romantic sequel to the story of Richard the Second into the sacred field of History."

From these considerations, with all my respect for Mr. Tytler's learned and ingenious labours, I cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that the tale thus sought to be rescued from oblivion, however circumstantial in its details, ought only to be ranked among those fables of fugitive or cloistered Princes with which the histories of all ages and countries notoriously abound. The lovers of the marvellous, at various periods, have professed their belief in Harold's escape from the battle of Hastings, to lead a life of holy seclusion at Chester; in Sebastian's preservation from the Moorish scymitars at Alcazar, and his subsequent wanderings through Europe; in Richard of York's transmigration into the humble guise of Perkin Warbeck; and in James the Fourth's flight from Flodden field, to "exchange his sceptre for a Palmer's staff," in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They have now an additional call for the exercise of their faith, in the tale of the captive at Stirling Castle.

Ever, my dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

THOMAS AMYOT.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Secretary.

APPENDIX.

The following is a transcript, obligingly made by my friend Mr. Madden, of Archbishop Arundel's Letter to Henry IV. (MS. Cott. Vesp. F. vii. fol. 88) referred to in page 285.

Xpianissime Princeps. Debita atq̃ humilima recõmendacione p̃missa. Receptis pridem l̃ris ṽre serenissime maiestatis vna cum l̃ris Ducis Albanie sub ṽre excellencie signeto transmissis, ip̃isq̃ inspectis & iuxta capacitatem meam efficaciter consideratis, ab eisdem ṽre serenitatis l̃ris intellexi qd voluntatis ṽre regie est & sani consilij, vt treuge alias capte cū Scotis [durature usque] ad festum Pasche, continuent^r & renouent^r p vno anno pximo ex tunc futuro, & interim certi Commissarij [assignentur ad] tractandum de pace ppetua, seu saltem longis treugis, cum certis tamen condicionibz, videt̃ qd ip̃i de Scocia [inimicos] ṽre maiestatis non retineant, seu fauores eisdem impendant, & qd illum fatuum se dicentem Regem Ričm ad [presenciam] ṽre maiestatis transmittant, que oñia sano modo fienda reputo fore sana, ne sanguis innoxius xpian^o [inutili]s effundat^r; & ṽram excellentem discreçõem quā ob̃uare intenditis in eisdem merito laudare oportet & [quod il]lud ydolum se dicentem Regem Ricardum ad ṽram p̃senciam transmitti affectatis, quia certe per hoc a plasmata plebis ṽre, quem merito dico ydolum, eo qd honorem & affectionem Regi debitos ip̃i saltē famulo infatuato, cui^o ocçone tãta, vt expiencia docuit, pluries exorta sunt inter ligios ṽre Regie [maiestatis] contenciones, insurrecciones, & scismata, vt difficile fuisset zizãnia separe q̃n aliquando ptim eradicaret [triticum] & tam videbat^r, put nec credo fuisse sanū vtrūq̃ creuisse vsq̃ ad messem, ne deterius inde contigisset. Sane metuendissime Princeps, quo ad plenū consiliū p me ad p̃missa exhibend, seu l̃ras ad eadem put mandat^r fiendas, si bñ concipio, non potero absq̃ vltiori informaçõe eoꝝdem, qui modum formam & effectum treugaꝝ captaꝝ apud

Kelsowe pleniq, nouerunt, congruū dare responsum, seu scribe competenter, p eo p'sertim qd l're d'ci Ducis Albanie ad ipos modū formā & effectum se referunt, de quibz credo ven^oabilem frēm meū Epm Dunelmeñ, & alios qui sunt de consilio Londoñ, qui hent forsan copias illaz treugaz & alioz tractatum, fore plenius informatos. Vřam igit^r excellentissimā maiestatē si libeat & videat^r expediens supplico & exoro quatin^o vsq, in diem martis ad septimanā premissa differre velitis, quo die ero, Deo dante, Londoñ, & cum p'dcīs cōicabo, & faciam, Dño concedente, bonū finem ; qd si eidem vře serenitati non videatur expediens tantum differre eadem, iřata p'ce vře regie excellencie supplico, quatin^o p'fato veñ. frī meo Dunelmeñ Epo & alijs qui p'missas treugas nouerunt & hent copias siue originalia eazdem mandare velitis, vt vna cum auisamento Ctici Concilij seu eius locumtenentis, qui habent modum scribendi, & p's'tim in talibz, ad magnū sigillum vřum faciant lřas in vřis lřis regijs nōiatis in debita forma, & ad hoc sufficienti & apta, ipasq, lřas sic conceptas q'm cici^o videbit^r expediens, sub lřis vře maiestatis clausas michi transmittere dignemini sigillandas, hijs meis humilimis p'cibz inclinati. Et quia iam instat festum Pasche quo priores treuge finiunt^r, ita qd impossibile sit nouas treugas expedire tam cito, videt^r michi sanū fore consilium, vt eiusdem vře maiestatis lře priuate aliquibz dirigant^r cum vbis excusatorijs, put expedire videbit^r, qui vnam abstinenciam guerraꝝ p medio tempore inducant cum effectū. Vřam regiā maiestatem in prosperis dirigat regat & gubernat qui cuncta bona creauit. Script' apud Cantuar' xxiiij^o die Marcij.

Vře regie maiestatis humilim9 orator T. Cantuariēñ.

In the MS. from which the above is a transcript, the words which are deficient are not merely illegible, but have absolutely perished. For those which have been conjecturally supplied, and inclosed in brackets, I am indebted to Mr. Madden, who remarks that in the reply of Henry to Albany, which occurs on fol. 85 of the same volume, and in which a treaty is proposed, there is not any allusion whatever to the counterfeit King Richard.

XVI. Letter addressed by JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S. Director, to HENRY PETRIE, Esq., accompanying drawings of Remains of the Prior of Lewes' Hostelry, in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark.

Read 17th June, 1830.

Lincoln's Inn.

DEAR SIR,

THE Church of St. Olave, Southwark, was confirmed^a to the Prior and Convent of St. Pancras of Lewes, in Sussex, by William, second Earl Warren and Surrey, son of their founder, and in face of the Church on the south side of the way now called Tooley Street, contiguous with Carter Lane, they built, or became possessed of, a Hostelry for the convenience of the Prior and monks coming to London, and for the reception of strangers. It does not appear how they acquired this property; the charter of confirmation does not comprise any lands in Southwark. Earl William died in 1138,^b and there are sufficient grounds for presuming that the Prior had no lodgings in St. Olave's until a later period.

Osbert, Prior of St. Pancras,^c gave to John son of Edmund, and his heirs, a tenement in London belonging to the convent, that is to say, the dwelling and houses of Wibert de Araz, and lands holden of the monks of Westminster,^d and Robert, the Chamberlain; to hold at a

^a Regist. chart. Monasterij de Lewes. Mus. Brit. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. xv. fo. 12 b.

^b Ibid. fo. 105 b.

^c Ibid. fo. 196 b. Appendix, No. I.

^d Gervase, Abbot of Westminster, confirmed the gift of John son of Ralph, to the Church of St. Pancras of Lewes, of two pieces of land which Wibert de Araz held of him in London. Ibid. Gervase governed the Monastery of Westminster from the year 1140 to 1160. Dugdale, Monast.

rent of fourteen shillings, and by this service, that as often as the Prior of Lewes, or his monks, or the monks of the cells belonging to St. Pancras, came to London, that John and his successors should give them fit lodging, *suscipiāt hospicio congruo et delib'ato*, and find them fire and water, and salt, and sufficient vessels for their use. Among the witnesses to this charter are the Countess Isabel, and her brother Philip (*testibus Comitissa Isabel et fratre suo Philippo*) being the Countess Warren and Surrey, daughter and heir of William the third Earl, and her half brother Philip de Evreux.^e

Osbert was Prior of Lewes^f between the years 1170 and 1186: the Countess Isabel died in 1199.^g I therefore conclude that the hostelry of the Prior of Lewes, in Southwark, was not in his occupation until the latter years of the twelfth century. It is certain that the monks of St. Pancras had a hostelry here at a remote period; for in a release^h from William de Wyntringham, carpenter, to the Prior of Lewes in the 44th Edw. III. anno 1370, it is specially set forth that the Prior and his predecessors, in right of their Church of St. Pancras, were seised, from time immemorial, of a piece of ground nigh the gate of their hostelry in Southwark, *come le dit Prio' et ses p'decessours, come de droit de lo' esglise de Seint Pancras de Lewes, furent seisis, de temps dount memorie ne court, dune place de l're joust la porte de lo' houstelle en Southwark*: and a building agreementⁱ between the same parties in the 47th Edw. III. speaks of the ancient north-east gate of their hostelry, (which was standing in the time of the historian Stowe,) *Le dit William ad grauntee et se oblige de fayre en l'est partie deinz launciene porte norest de lostel de ditz Priour et Covent en Suthwerk cynk schoppes*.

Peter, Bishop of Winchester,^k who governed that See in 1205^l appro-

^e Watson's Memoirs of the House of Warren and Surrey.

^f Dugdale, Monast.

^g Regist. chart de Lewes, fo. 107 b.

^h Ibid. fo. 182 b. Appendix, II.

ⁱ Ibid. fo. 183 b.

^k Godwin de Præsul.

^l Regist. chart. de Lewes, fo. 189 b.

priated the Church of St. Olave, Southwark, to the Prior and Convent of St. Pancras of Lewes, for the purposes of hospitality, *in usus et refectiorem hospitum*.

In Michaelmas term 29 Hen. VIII. Robert, late Prior of St. Pancras of Lewes, levied a fine to the King of all the possessions of the Priory, in which fine the Church of St. Olave, and messuages, gardens, lands, and rents in Southwark, Kater lane (Carter lane), comprehending the site of the hostelry, are particularly specified. On the 16th of the month of February following, his Majesty conferred these possessions on Thomas, Lord Cromwell, afterward Earl of Essex, in fee;^m the hostelry being valuedⁿ in the King's survey at eight pounds yearly.

After the attainder of the Earl of Essex, the hostelry seems to have been parcelled out by the Crown. Stowe, in his description of St. Olave's, Southwark, says, "over against the parish Church, on the south side of the streete, was sometime one great house builded of stone with arched gates, which pertained to the Prior of Lewes in Sussex, and was his lodging when he came to London: it is now a common hostelry for travellers, and hath to sign the Walnut Tree."^o Cuthbert Beeston, citizen and girdler of London, died seised,^p in the 24th Elizabeth, of the Walnut-tree Inn, together with the garden thereto, and fifteen messuages in Walnut-tree-lane, otherwise Carter-lane, in St. Olave's, Southwark, held of the Queen in chief, worth yearly five pounds six shillings and eight pence. It appears that the Walnut-tree Inn occupied the east side of the Hostelry; the west wing was purchased^q by the parish for the use of the Grammar-school of St. Olave's,^r founded in the 13th Elizabeth.

^m Pat. 29 Hen. VIII. pars ii.

ⁿ Southwark, redditus Hospicii D'ni in Guttr lane ibidem, per ann. viijli. Valor Eccl. 26 Hen. VIII.

^o Stowe's Survey of London, 4to. 1598, pp. 340, 341.

^p Esc. 24 Eliz. n. 70. In the 19th James I. the Walnut-tree escheated to the Crown and was leased out.

^q Manning and Bray's History of Surrey.

^r The Royal Charter gives license to purchase lands of a limited value.

The Hall, and a vaulted chamber or crypt below, constituted the west wing of the Hostelry, the remains of which, chiefly the vaulted Chamber, form the subject of the drawings I have the honour to lay before the Society. In consequence of an alteration in the approach to New London Bridge, it lately became necessary to level these remains, and the drawings were made during the demolition, the progress of which was carefully watched. The Hall, converted into the school room, was found to retain its original walls to the height of ten or eleven feet in places on the sides, but not so much at the ends, with new work grafted on the old.

The plain unmixed character of the circular style in these remains, would lead me to conclude that this part of the Hostelry was built before the time of Osbert, the Prior, a date which is difficult to reconcile with his charter, if, as we may presume, the building was erected by the monks of Saint Pancras.

I am struck with the resemblance of the general features of this portion of the Hostelry to those of the manor-house at Boothby Pagnel, Moyses hall at St. Edmundsbury, and Pythagoras' school at Cambridge:—a building of two stories; the lower vaulted, without a communication with the upper: no fire-place in the lower; a fire-place in the upper: an external staircase to the upper, with the addition of a porch to the lower chamber. But let us have recourse to our drawings.

Number I.* shows the ground-plan of the vaulted Chamber, with the porch on the east side, near the north angle. The porch extended nineteen feet, and appeared to have been longer. Its width was eleven feet nine inches. At the distance of six feet nine inches from the inner door there was a flight of steps to the chamber, the floor of which was nearly three feet and a half lower: this being about the level of the river, shows the precautionary arrangement of the porch, and, on the same account, all the windows of the chamber were carried up close to the crown of the vault. The porch was without windows.

The vaulted chamber formed a parallelogram of forty feet three inches,

* Plate XX.

by sixteen feet six inches, and fourteen feet three inches high: the vaulted roof being supported by arches springing from six semicircular pillars attached to the side walls. These pillars were five feet ten inches high, including the capitals and base. The entrance was by an elliptical arch, and possibly there had been a door also on the opposite side. On the south there were two windows, as well as on the west, and there was one on the north. On the removal of the earth, which had accumulated in the chamber, no remains were found of an ancient floor or pavement. The walls were three feet three inches thick.

Number II.[†] The longitudinal section of the vaulted Chamber, and the remains of the Hall above.

The character of the masonry is here distinctly seen. The pillars and arches were of wrought stone, a mixture of fire-stone and Kentish rag; the vault was entirely chalk, nine inches thick; the rest of the lower building rubble. The entrance to the Hall was on the side of the porch, and must have been approached by a flight of steps, as is the case in the Norman mansion at Boothby Pagnel; the face of the hall-door, internally, was perfectly plain; externally, it had been entirely destroyed. Caen-stone was used in this door, and in other parts of the upper chamber.

Number III.^u The transverse section gives particularly the character of the entrance arch, which had on its external angle a bead moulding springing from a slender pillar with a capital, indicating a slight difference between the character of the porch and that of the vaulted chamber; at the same time these did not, on close examination, appear to have been built at different times; and their coeval erection seems to be confirmed by the harmony in the general arrangement. This drawing also shows the construction of the south windows, the dressings of which were of wrought stone, while all the others were plain.

Number IV.^x View of the Chamber.

Number V.^y View of the Porch.

† Plate XXI.

u Plate XXII.

x Plate XXIII.

y Plate XXIV.

Number VI.* exhibits the capitals, which were of various design, and also a fragment of highly finished sculpture found among the ruins. The sculpture appeared to be part of a frieze, of which there were other relics, and among them, grotesque animals with foliage.

On the north west, some ancient foundations were visible, but in the direction of Carter-lane, where the site of the Walnut-tree had been built upon in modern times, there was no vestige of the original building. It may be conjectured from the situation of the vaulted chamber immediately under the Hall, with the porch leading into it, and from the number of windows, and the finished architecture, that this apartment was used as an inferior hall to the Hostelry.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN GAGE.

APPENDIX I.

[*Regist. Chart. Monasterii de Lewes. Mus. Brit. MS. Cotton. Vespasian, F. xv. fol. 196 b.*]

Nou'nt p'sentes & fut'i qđ ego O. Prior de S'ce Pančtio voluntate & assensu con^{to} n'ri dedi & cōcessi Johi filio Edwardi et heredibz suis, tenementū nostrū in Londoñ scilicet mansurā & domos que fuerūt Wiberti de Araz & t'ras quas tenem^o de mo'chis de Westmonasī & de Robto Camblengo ad tenendū de nob in feodo & hereditate p q'tuordecim solid annuatī nob reddend ad Paschā & ad festū Scī michis: Insup & p tali sūicio vt quociens Prior de Lewes vt mo'chi de Lewes vt mo'chi cellaz que ad s'cm Pančtiū ptinent Londonias adueñint p'dcūs Johes & eius successores ipos mo'chos suscipiāt hospicio congruo & delibato, & ignē & aquā & sal & vasa sufficiencia eis pūideant et admīstrent Hanc cōuençonē iuravit Johes in Capīllo Sci Pančtii corā testibz tenendam & custodien-

dā. Testibz Comitissa Isabel & fr̃e suo Philippo, Adam de Pumuges, Witto de Stainwil, Witto Lunel, Edger camblengo comitisse, & Rado fr̃e suo, & Simoñ, & Rand, & Rad vinitore, & Brithmaro de Hauerel, Jocelino capello, Ricardo camblengo, Simone janitore, Witto nepote Aldradi, Galfrido coco, Rad Cammie.

APPENDIX II.

[*MS. Cotton. Vespasian, F. xv. fol. 182 b.*]

Ceste endente faite entre le Priour de lewes dune pt et William de Wyntryngam Carpenť dautre pt tesmoigne q̃ come le dit Prio' et ses p̃decessours come de droit de lo' esglise de Seint Pancras de Lewes furent seisis de temps dount memorie ne court dune Place de ȝre ioust la porte de lo' houstell en Southewerk, et gist pentre le muyer le dit houstell et le place le dit William vs le haut chymyn quiel se estent vs Bermudesey quiel place le dit William auoist clame come le seon ppre p meynoũes et encloustures faitz en ycel les qũx clayme et chalange le dit William ad renouncie et reclame p' luy ses heirs et ces assignes. Et voet et graunt q̃ les auauntditz Priour et Couent et lo' successors eyount et tiegnent le dite place a touz iours saunz chalange ou countredit du dit William ses heirs ou ces assignes. Et p' cestes choses renouncier et reclamer le dit Priour ad relesse a dit William touz auẽs ȝspasses et claymes les qũx il poast auoir owe p resoun de damage p' meynoũe et enclousture auauntditz. En tesmoignance de quiel chose les pties auauntditz a ycestes endent'es enȝchaungeablement ount mys lo' seals. Cestes tesmoignes: Joh'n Mokyng le eisne, Joh'n Mokyng le puisne, Thomas Daue, William Maltoñ, Robt Smyth, Gefferey atte

Hall, Joh'n Alwaltoñ de Southwerk, Joh'n Shirref, Hugh Waleys, Patryk Seyntowayn, Joh'n Piers del Counte de Sussex, et auſs. Doñ en Southwerk le lundy pscheyn deuaunt la feste lascencioun nre s' lan du Regne le Roy Edward tierce puis le conquest quaraunt quarte.

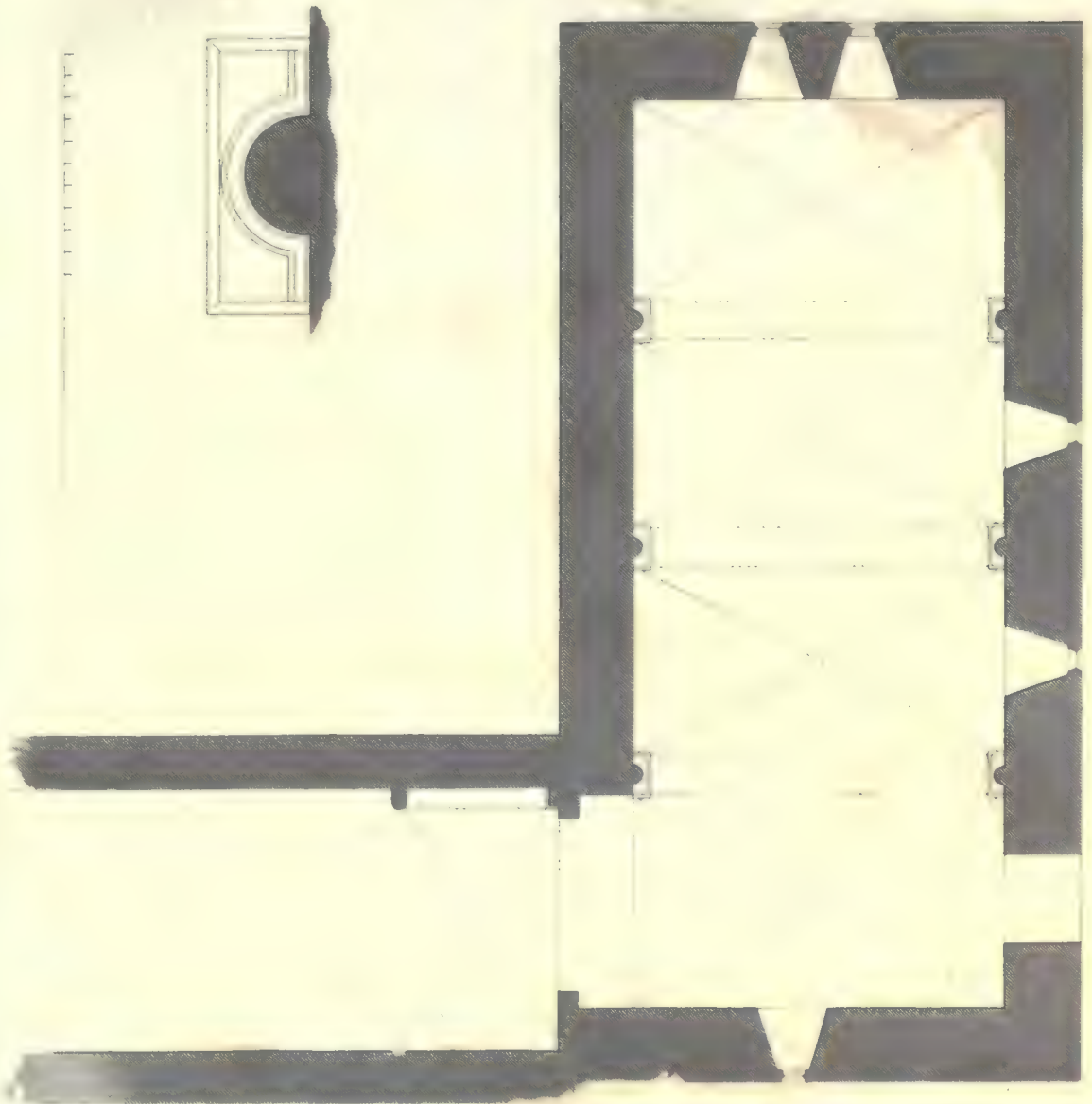
APPENDIX III.

[*MS. Cotton. Vespasian, F. xv. fol. 183 b.*]

Ceste endent'e faite a Suthwerk le p'mer io'r de Decembr⁹ lan de regne n're Seigno' le Roi Edward tierce puis le conquete dengleŕe quaraunte septisme, entre les Religiouses hōmes Johan Prio' de la mayson de lewes & le Couent de mesme le lieu dune part, et William Wyntryngh'm de Suthwerk Carpen^l dautre pt, tesmoygne q̃ le dit William ad grauntée & se oblige de fayre en lest ptie dein³ launciene porte norest de lostel des dit³ Priour & Couent en Suthwerk cynk Schoppes chescun Schoppe oue vne estage oue getteiz estendaunt³ en long'e de la North deſs le South de la maysoñ de dit William quatre vynt³ et quatre pee³ dassise, et ſra chescun des dit³ cynk Schoppes en layeure quatos³ee pees dassise. Et auxi le dit William ferra en le Westptie de dite porte sys autres Schoppes en mesme le maneŕ quels estendront e long'e de la North vers le South de la mayson de dit William cent et sys pees dassise, et ſra chescun de mesmes les Schoppes en laeyure dous³ee pee³ dassise, des queuz sys Schoppes en la dite Westptie yserrount dehors la dite porte, vynt & deux pee³ et de dein³ quatrevynt³ et quatre pee³. Et ſrount toutes les dit³ vnze Schoppes fait³ en la man'e & fo'me en tou³ poynt³ come est le longe Rente de Adam Fraunceys vers lest fyn del esglise des freres Austines en loundres tout as coustages de dit

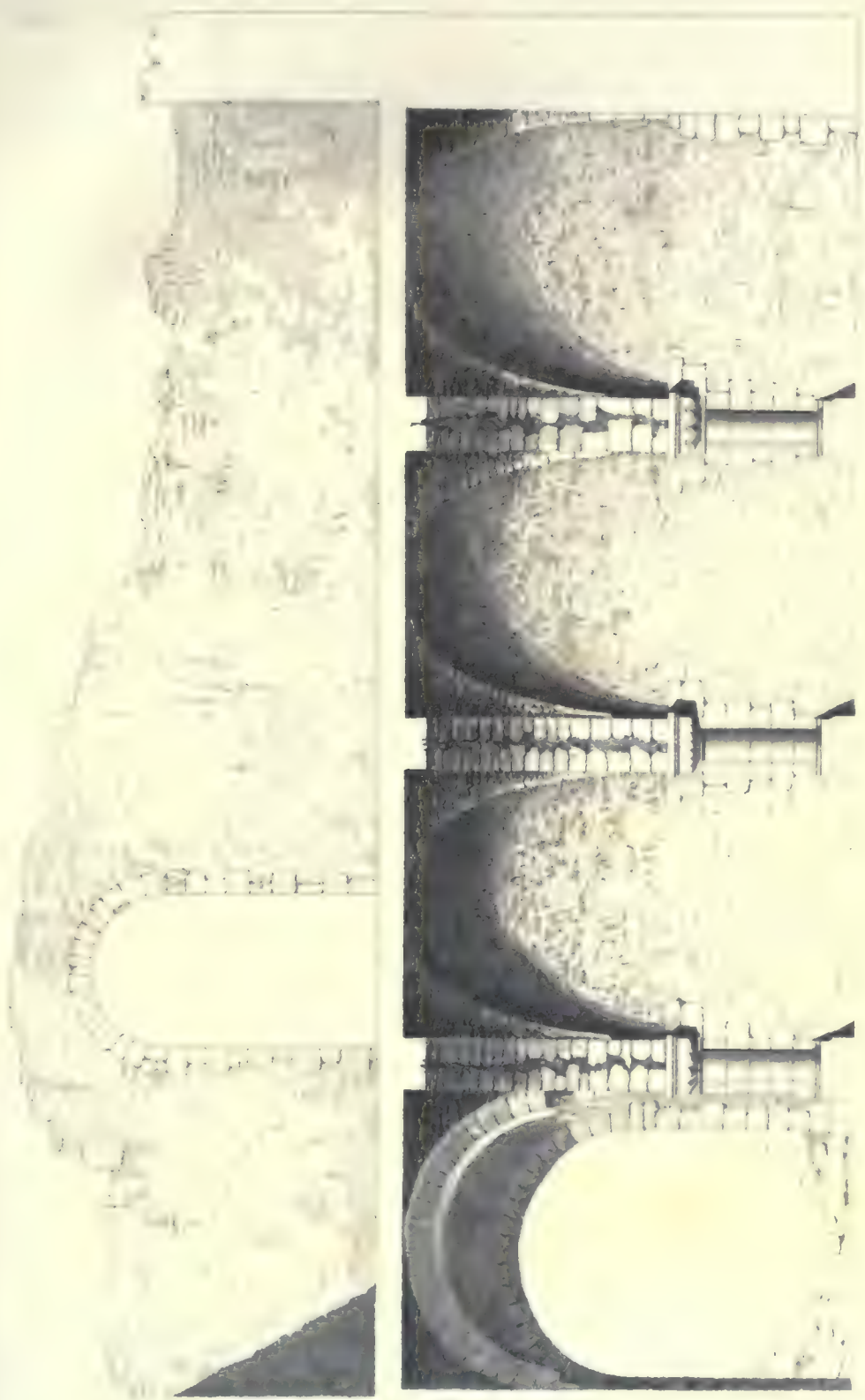
William salue Chymeneyes & vn mur de pierre adors le dit Rente de dit Adam. Et outre ceo le dit William ferra al South bout des dit3 vnze Schoppes at'uers deux estables, chescun p' dy3 Chiuaux et quatorse pee3 en layeure oue soleres desus saunz getteyez p' eyns mettre q'cumq3 choses q̃ plerra as dit3 Prio' & Couent. Et auxi le dit William ferra entre les auñtdit3 deux estables, vne porte bone & sufficeaunt oue vne chambre desus. As quels porte & chambre desus, les dit3 Prio' & Couent trouunt toute man'e de m̃ysme & toute man'e de ferrure & cou'te p' ycelles porte & chambre tout as coustages des dit3 Prio' & Couent. Et t̃rount touz lez au'ntdit3 vnze Schoppes oue les Soleres, estables, porte & chambre pamount, p̃fait3 en le man'e au'ntdit3, entre c̃y & le feste de Nowel pschein venaunt ap̃s le fesaunce dycestes & vn an adonq̃ pschein ensuaunt. Et p' tout lau'ntdit3 oūeygne oue q'ntq3 enbosoygnera a yceff come desus est specifie, la'unt dit William p̃ndra des dit3 Prio' et Couent ou de lo' successo'es Cent & vynt lyures desϑlinges & tout le veille m̃ysme ore illeoq̃s esteaunt, & touz autres choses syau'nt come les dit3 vnze schoppes oue gardynes aycelles app'ten'nt3 estendront en lau'ntdite place. Cest assauoyr al feste de Seint Michel pschein venaunt ap̃s le fesaunce dycestes quaraunte marc3 al feste de Pasq̃ adonq̃ pschein ensuaunt sessaunte marc3 al feste de Seint John le Baptistre adonq̃ pschein ensuaunt quaraunte marc3 & al feste de Seint Michel adonq̃ pschein ensuaunt quaraunte marc3 en ppayment. Et a touz cestes couen'nt3 susdit3 p' bien & lealment tenir & pfo'mer en touz point3 come desus est dit, les pties au'ntdit3 se obligent & chescun de eux p soy a autre en Cent lyures desϑlinges. Et out̃r ceo les au'ntdit3 Prio' & Couent oue vn assent & volunte ount lesse g'unte & a ferme baille p' eux & lo' successo'es a dit William toutes les dit3 vnze Schoppes oue les chambres q̃unt ils soyent fait3 & gardynes aycelles app'ten'nt3 a tout le t̃me del vye le dit William & vn an outre & a ses heires assignes & executo'es. Rendaunt annuelment p' ycelles as dit3 Prio' & Couent & a lo' successo'es dys marc3 desϑlinges as quatre t̃mes del an p̃ncipales. Et le dit William, ses heires, assignes,

& executo'es mayntindrout reparaillerount &c. Et les lesserount as ditz Prio' & Couent ou a lo' successo'es a fyn de dit ŷme en bon & couenable estat, &c. Et lau'ntdit William voet & g'unte p' lui ses heires, assignes, & executo'es q̃ a quele hure q̃ le dit rente de dys marc3 en ptie ou en tout soyt aderere p cept semaygnes ou q̃ les ditz schoppes, &c. ne soyent mayntein3 en couenable estat, &c. Et les ditz Prio' & Couent et lo' successo'es, toutes les ditz vnze schoppes, &c. a dit William &c. garauntirount. En testimoynance de quele chose a vne ptie de cestes endent'es dem'raunt vs le dit William, les ditz Prio' & Couent ount mys lo' comune seaal et a autre ptie de mesmes les endent'es dem'raunt vs les ditz Prio' & Couent le dit William ad mys soun seal. Doñ a Southwerk le io' & an susditz.



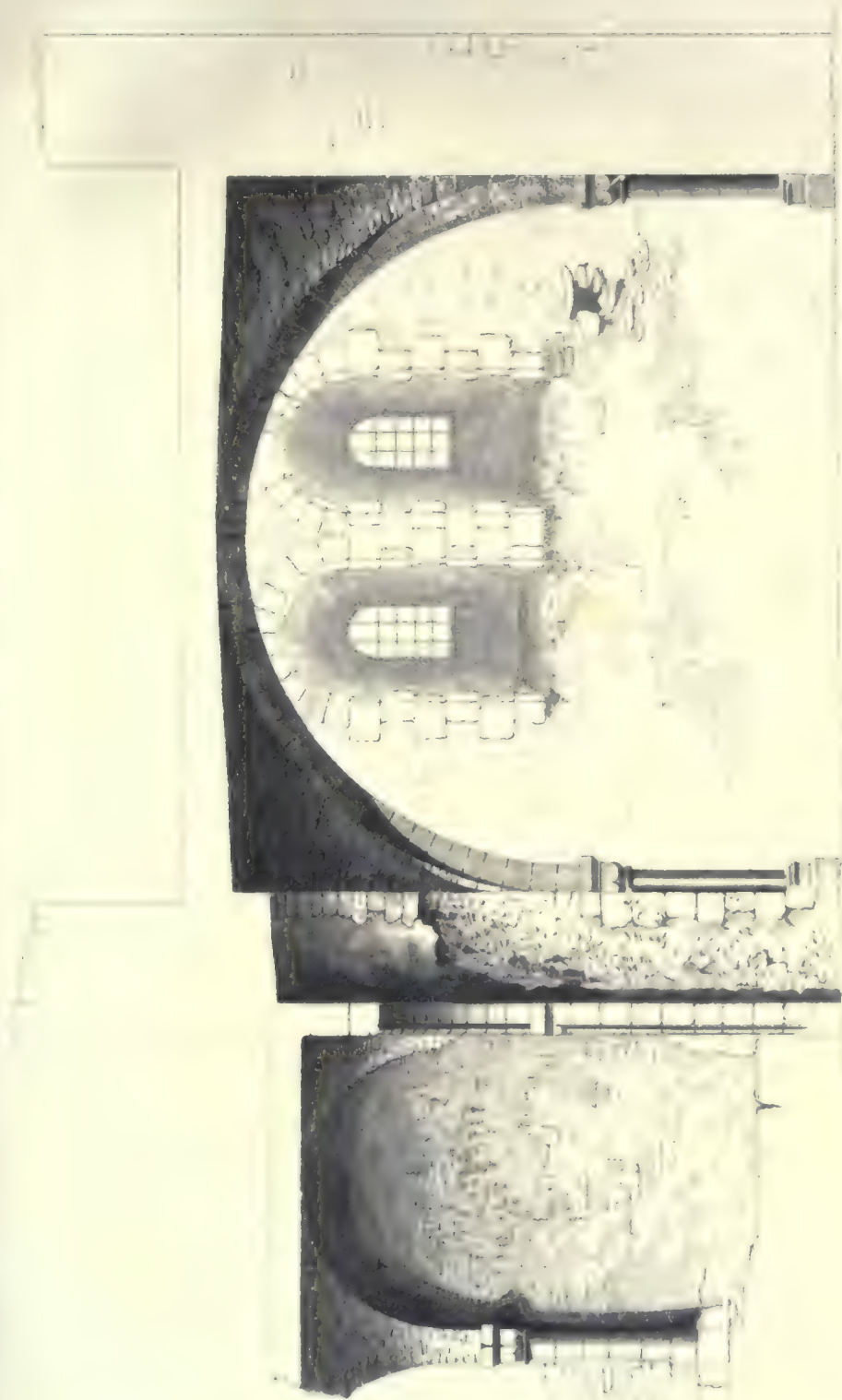
Inward Plan of the vaulted Chamber of the Prior of Lewis' Hostelry in S. Giles, Southwark.





Longitudinal Section of the vaulted Chamber of the Prior of Lewis, Hockley





Transverse Section of the vaulted Chamber of the Prior of Lewis' Hosiery





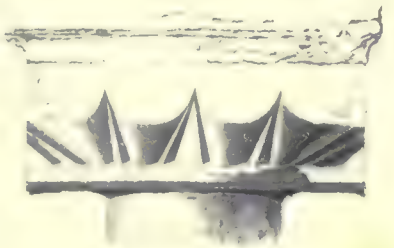
View of the vaulted Chamber of the Prior of Lewis, Hestledy.





Arch of the Prior of Ames Hostelry.





Capitals of Pillars with a sculptured Fragment found among the ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

XVII. *Account of a fresco Painting discovered at Preston, Sussex ; by the Rev. CHARLES TOWNSHEND, in a Letter to HENRY HALLAM, Esq. F.R.S., V.P.*

Read 20th May, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

Preston, April 24, 1830.

THE Church of Preston, near Brighton, appears from various indications to have been built towards the end of the reign of Henry III. On the east wall of the nave, on both sides of the arch opening to the Chancel, the Commandments had been painted, which, becoming greatly decayed from damp and age, I endeavoured to scrape away ; after removing many thick coats of whitewash and plaster, I gradually made out on the wall, northward of the arch, the painting of the murder of Becket, &c. (No. 1),^a and on that southward of the arch the various paintings (No. 2).^b

This picture of Becket's murder seems to conform with much exactness to the descriptions of it given in the old chronicles and biographies. The figure on our right hand, Edward Grim, is extending his right hand to ward the blow from the Archbishop's head, and is represented severely wounded : "Brachium cujusdam Clerici qui dicebatur Edwardus Grimfere abscidit, extenderat enim idem Clericus brachium suum super caput Patris ut ferientis exciperet, vel potius elideret ictum."^c The mistake in Hoveden of calling him Grimfere in this passage, which has been followed by Alban Butler, Dr. Milner, and others, arose naturally in printing from a closely written MS. and joining

^a See Plate XXVI.

^b Plate XXVII.

^c Hoveden, An. p. 299.

the adverb *ferè* with his name. The other Chronicles generally use the same or similar words in a way that satisfies us of the mistake; thus in Bromton's Chronicle, "*Brachium cujusdam clerici qui Edwardus Grym dicebatur ferè abscidit;*" and in Gervase of Canterbury, "*quo brachium Clerici, magistri scilicet Edwardi, ferè amputavit.*" He is represented with his tonsure, and hood partly covering his head, or possibly in the first drawing it was a nimbus or glory, as he appears to have been held worthy of such honour for his zeal and courage upon this occasion."^d The area of the glory was probably filled with colour on a subsequent repainting. He was a young man of high and opulent family,^e and was on a visit to the Archbishop.^f

The Altar of St. Benedict, of which Becket had ascended the fourth step,^g is designated conspicuously by the cup, probably to impress by that object the allusion continually made by the Monkish Historians, that his blood was shed where the blood of Christ was offered. Indeed it is the general style and object of all these writers, by every minute particular, to connect the passion of Becket with that of our Lord. The triangular form represents the antependium or ornamental drapey upon the cloth of the Altar.

Of the figure of the Archbishop, from obliteration and repainting, there appears some difficulty in deciding the attitude; the foot seems to have been subsequently introduced; his face is probably meant to be turned towards us, his arms spread open in submission to his fate. The divine hand in benediction is descending towards him to receive his spirit. In illuminated Psalters of this period it is so placed over the bed of the dying; and in the Bayeux Tapestry it hangs over the

^d "Qui jam rebus humanis exemptus, sicut sperandum, ab altissimo in super cœlesti Catalogo jam positus est." *Epistolæ et Vitæ divi Thomæ, &c.*

^e "Castello illo in Anglia quod dicitur Cauthebruge oriundus." *Epistol. et Vitæ, lib. iii. ch. xviii.*

^f "Casu sic ad Archi-præsulem, nuper tunc reversum ab exilio, visendum venerat." *Epist. et Vitæ in Catalogo Eruditorum.*

^g "In quatuor gradus ascenderat." *Fitzsteph.*

Church of Westminster, into which the corpse of St. Edward is being conveyed.

Of the two foremost Knights, the one in front with the long shield must be William de Tracy, from his sword cutting at the hand of the Priest, and at the same time striking the Archbishop.^h Reginald Fitzurse followed so immediately (he is here pointing to the Priest and stabbing Becket from behind with his sword) that by some the first blow, already described, was attributed to him.ⁱ In the painting this point of time is chosen, and the two knights are represented both striking together. The next murderer, "Hugo Morville," with a smaller shield, has his sword lifted (to which a new outline has been given, different from the shape of his own scabbard), and is about to let fall a third and more violent blow, the effect of which is described as quite equal to the violence of the attitude.^k We now come to the knight whose situation in the painting, and his sword still undrawn, shew that he approached last (and perhaps somewhat unwillingly) to the Archbishop's murder. Now it is mentioned by one of the historians that the murderer who came up *fourth* in order broke his sword,^l and we find in conclusion that this *fourth* or *last* was Brito, for Fitzstephen particularizes him by mentioning the breaking of his sword.^m

^h "Magister Edwardus Grim qui et primum a Willielmo de Tracy in caput ejus vibratum gladii, ictum, brachio objecto excepit, eodemque ictu et Archiepiscopus in capite inclinato, et ipse in brachio graviter est vulneratus." Fitzsteph.

ⁱ "Accelerans igitur ursides de *primo ictu* referre trophæum et de *festina prodicione* suâ, lucrum prosiliit," &c. Epist. et Vitæ, lib. iii. ch. xviii.

^k "Tertius autem plurimam testæ portionem amputando vulnus precedens horribiliter ampliavit." Idem.

^l "Quartus ab uno eorum quod se (non ?) tardaret correptus, in idem vulnus, in manu gladium vibravit, gladioque in pavimento marmoreo confracto, tam cuspidem quam gladii sui capulum reliquit." Idem.

^m "Ricardus Brito percussit tanta vi ut et gladius ad caput ejus et ad Ecclesiæ pavementum frangeretur." Idem. This fragment of Brito's sword was preserved upon the altar tomb at Canterbury, and large offerings were made "ad punctum ensis." See Pegge's Beauchief Abbey. Erasmus Colloq. Peregrination. Religionis ergo. In Dugdale, Monast. vol. i. is an engraving of the shrine and reliques.

There can remain, I think, no doubt that the name of each knight is clearly distinguished; and in all the ancient paintings of the subject which I have seen, the same order prevails, the same situations and attitudes are found. In the ancient glass in the window of the north aisle of Christ Church, Oxford;ⁿ in the bas-relief in marble, once the altar-piece at Beauchief Abbey;^o in the fresco at Stratford-on-Avon,^p in the Chapel of the Trinity; this order of attack is exactly preserved, and the latter painting has this additional confirmation of the statement from the historians, that the name of each knight is painted upon his dress. It therefore appears probable that one general arrangement was followed in representing this subject. The picture on board at Canterbury^q of a later date, has also the same *general arrangement*, and there can be no doubt of each *individual* name; in that painting, however, the armorial distinctions are differently appropriated, but Mr. Carter, in his representation, confesses some parts of these to be his own restoration, and Dr. Milner in describing the picture (after having been misled in naming two of the knights) seems to have felt the arms^r to be so incongruous with the history, that in defiance of his wearing a "Surcoat of azure charged with fleurs-de-lis," which should have proclaimed him "Morville," he says very justly, "this last actor in the tragedy (who is drawing his sword) certainly is Brito."

All the knights are clad entirely in chain armour, over which their long surcoats reach below the knee. A reddish brown and yellow ochre seem to have been the only two colours employed, and with the former colour the picture has afterwards received a new and careless

ⁿ Engraving by Fowler, published 1808.

^o Pegge's Hist. in Appendix.

^p Fisher's Series of allegorical and legendary Paintings at Stratford, folio, 1807.

^q Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting.

^r To Tracy are given the arms (I suppose) of Brito: to Morville those of Tracy: and to Brito those of Morville. The arms designating Tracy, are "*Or, two bars Gules*;" the present family bear "*Or, in dexter chief an escallop between two bendlets Gules*." Vide Irish Peerage, before 1797, when their title of Viscount became extinct.

outline, and has been in many parts very rudely repainted, greatly disfiguring and confusing the original.

The date of this painting is presumed to be of the reign of Edward I. The costume is always an allowed criterion, and the painting gives us the style of mail in use at that period, with its appropriate shields, swords, &c. and without any admixture of plate armour. We may therefore trust it could not be later than Edward I., towards the end of whose reign greaves and other remarkable variations were introduced. In confirmation of this date it may also be observed that the foliage of the trees and of the crockets on the niche in the drawing (No. 2),^s partake strongly of the character then given to those ornaments when used in sculpture. It is probably therefore one of the earliest pictures of the death of Becket extant. Of this subject, so popular in the Church, we might expect naturally to be well supplied with representations, and we should probably have been overwhelmed with them had not Henry VIIIth, in the 30th year of his reign, issued a long proclamation^t greatly abusing the Archbishop, and commanding "all images and pictures of Bishop Becket through the hole realme to be put down and avoided out of all Churches, Chappells, and other places;" yet in spite of this decree (which indeed has probably been the means of preserving many by plaster which would otherwise have long faded away) we have the subject remaining in glass,^u illuminations, fresco, sculpture, seals, &c. some, however, not conforming with sufficient accuracy to the subject to distinguish them from other murders and martyrdoms.^x As most of these are works of the fourteenth and fifteenth

^s Plate XXVII.

^t Burnet's Reformation, in Appendix.

^u Archæologia, Vol. IX. on glass at Brereton, where the Archbishop (a mistake not very inappropriate) is in armour. His Biographers often style him "invictissimus Dei Athleta." See also Archæologia, vols. X. XI. and XVII.; Pegge's Hist. of Beauchief Abbey, and his references.

^x In this class we may place the enamelled paintings on the little shrines of Croyland and Hereford; which in no specific points concur with the history, and in most contradict it. See Gough's Sep. Monuments, Introduct. to vol. II. p. 195, and his references.

centuries, we have in the Preston fresco not only an earlier record and authority of the historic circumstance, arranged with more accuracy and taste, but have what is becoming rare and valuable in the kingdom, a public work of pictorial art of the thirteenth century.

The range of figures above this painting of Becket, represent on the right hand, St. Catherine, virgin and martyr; at her feet the Emperor Maximinus, over whose persecutions she triumphed, and in whose reign she suffered martyrdom.^y The next is a figure of Christ after his resurrection, with a triumphant cross; beside him a female kneeling, and a shrub or tree between them. It seems intended for the scene where our Lord makes himself known to Mary Magdalene in the Garden (St. John, ch. xx). The figure of Christ, with a trifling variety of attitude, is repeated in the next figure, and from his pointing to his side, the obliterated figure was probably the incredulous Thomas.

(No. 2.)^z

Upon the wall southward of the arch is a female Saint within a Gothic niche or tabernacle, standing over the dragon, with a cross or spear in her hand. Among^a the figures of the Saints we find St. Margaret so represented. There are two other figures much obliterated, one appearing, from the crosier, to be a Bishop, and the escallop would mark the other for a pilgrim. The tree and other ornaments are too undefined to admit any thing but conjectures on the subject. Beneath these paintings we have an angel in the act of weighing the souls of the departed (an office appropriated to Michael^b), the devil striving by his weight and strength to pull up the lower and successful scale, in which is a little figure in the posture of prayer, whose fate is in delibera-

^y The person of Maximin was of a gigantic structure, being eight feet in height, with strength of form proportionate. We must, I suppose, believe it to be his moral prostration and littleness that is here impersonated.

^z Plate XXVII.

^a Callot's fig.

^b See clear and numerous authorities in Gough, Introduction to Sep. Mon. vol. II. p. ccxxxiv.

tion, and beside it another figure (probably the Virgin) affording her strength to counteract the efforts of the adversary.

Of the date and history of this religious emblem in the Church I am not informed. The selection of the Archangel Michael from the celestial Hierarchy for this office, must have arisen from his being considered by the Rabbis in the Jewish Church as the officiating Angel of *Justice* (as Gabriel was of *Mercy*); and he continued, probably for that reason, to be so represented in the Christian Church, "*bearing the scales in his left hand and a sword in his right*;"^c and he was moreover the especial and vigilant guardian of souls after death;^d and in general, as the devil is the sworn enemy of good and holy men, so Michael is their special protector against his assaults and accusations;^e and the contest between them for the possession and appropriation of the body of Moses (mentioned in St. Jude's Epistle, ver. 9) was not unlikely to continue in the Christian Church the tradition of the Rabbis, that a similar contention existed for the possession of every departed soul or person. But in itself, the subject of the scales presents so simple and clear an image of the scrutiny to which our works are to be subject after death, that a very slight authority from scripture and tradition would be sufficient to establish its reception in the Church.^f The invention is indeed so natural that we find it in Homer,^g Virgil,^h and

^c Callot's Figures of the Saints.

^d "Cum anima ascendit ad portas Hierosolymæ cœlestis Michael Dux Magnus cum ipsâ ascendit, eamque salute excipit." Pirke, Eleizer, c. 42. "Cum David mortuus est angeli superni noluerunt ipsi transitum per portas Hierosolymæ celestis concedere. Michaeli vero precepit Deus ut Davidem unctum introduceret per portas." Schemoth Rabba.

^e "Michael et Sammael (Satanas) stant ante thronum Schekinæ, et Satanâ accusat; Michael vero merita Israelitarum proponit." Julkut Rubini, fol. 72, 3. See the interesting and learned Notes to the fourth Discourse of Reginald Heber's Bampton Lectures, where the character and office of Michael is treated of, and from whence the above quotations are copied.

^f As in Job, xxi. ver. 6, and Daniel, v. ver. 27.

^g Iliad, viii. ver. 69, xxii. ver. 209; see Heyne's observations.

^h Æneid, xii. ver. 72; Heyne's Annot.

Milton;ⁱ and Æschylus wrote a tragedy upon the thought, entitled *Ψυχοστασία*, of which only fragments remain; but from Plutarch's account of it,^k and the drawing from it on an Etruscan Vase,^l it appears to have had the closest analogy with the subject of our present enquiry; for Achilles and Memnon are themselves (*Ψυχαί*),^m not as in Homer the *Kḗres* or *Fates*, of the parties) placed in the scales of Jupiter, and their mothers standing beside each scale, are praying to him for the success of their sons. Plutarch in observing upon it says, “ὅτι μυθοποίημα καὶ πλάσμα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἢ ἐκπληξιν ἀκροάτου γέγονε;” a fiction altogether contrived for exciting fear and delight in the audience. Its strong and pleasing power over the affections indeed is not experienced from poetry only, but has been exercised by the pencil of Barry with a pathos that will bear being mentioned, although the descriptions of the noblest poets have been referred to.

The accompanying drawings were made by Mr. William Twopeny of the Temple; and in mentioning his name I shall be spared the necessity of assuring you of their minute accuracy and characteristic spirit. The figures are reduced about one inch to a foot.

Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES TOWNSEND.

ⁱ Paradise Lost, iv. ver. 995. In Homer, Virgil, and Æschylus, the scale ascending to Heaven is the token of good; in the prophet Daniel, Milton, and in this painting, the metaphor is changed, and the ascending scale is made the sign of lightness and insufficiency.

^k De Audiendis Poetis.

^l Lanzi, Saggio de lingua Etrusca, vol. ii. p. 224.

^m Heyne describes them, “*duæ umbræ seu animæ ad formam humanam effictæ.*” In one part of the paintings in the Campo Santo at Pisa, we see the *souls* of deceased men escaping from their mouths in the forms of thin *youthful* figures, for the possession of whom much contention is represented between the good and the evil angels.



Paintings on the wall of Preston Church, Suizer





Paintings on the wall of Preben Church, Slesvig

XVIII. *Observations upon a Pair of Caudlesticks and a Pix, both of the twelfth Century, preserved at Goodrich Court in Herefordshire : by SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL.D. F.S.A., in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 20th May, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

20, Cadogan Place, May 18, 1830.

THE great age of a pair of Candlesticks, and a curiously shaped Pix, induces me to presume, that the exhibition of them to the Society of Antiquaries might be attended with some gratification. The former were purchased at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the house of a travelling dealer, so that it is impossible to ascertain their original locality ; the latter was bought in London, though a foreign importation.

The Candlesticks are of copper, engraved and gilt, and ornamented with enamel of seven colours let into the metal, and their height, including the spike at top, is sixteen inches. The stem, which is surrounded at equal distances with three bosses, rises from a hollow triangular truncated pyramid supported by three legs. On comparing the etching on these legs with what the Society has had engraved from a corbel between the arches of the nave of Malmsbury Abbey, Vetust. Mon. vol. V. pl. ix. fig. 12, the resemblance is striking.

Each face of the pyramid has a distinct subject within a circular compartment, flanked on the opposite sides with grotesque figures, which, although intended to be the same on both Candlesticks, are by no means fac-similes. In one a young man of rank is pourtrayed on horseback with the hawk on his fist: without the circle on one Candlestick at top, are what heralds would term two crosses patée, and on the other two

bezants. Two grotesque lions passant, each seized on the head by a serpent that has entwined itself round the body of the animal, fill up the vacant space on this side of the pyramid, the ground being in one specimen semée of crosses, and in the other semée of bezants. Next, in a circular compartment, is a knight bare-headed, and defending himself against the attack of a lion, simply with his sword and a kite-shaped shield. On each side of this is a bird, the tail of which ends in foliage, having a human head, wearing the chapelle de fer, as it appears on the seal of Rufus. The grounds have the same variation as in the preceding instance. The remaining face of the pyramid contains within a circle a man and woman in earnest conversation, her head being enveloped by a hood. This compartment is flanked by two naked human figures, designed with great spirit, each riding on a bird, holding the neck in one hand and in the other the tail, ~~the arm of the last having been~~ ^{each} passed under the thigh. The tails of these birds terminate in flowers, and they wear on their head that kind of cap which is an exaggeration of the Phrygian, and which, subsequently to the age of these Candlesticks, occurs frequently on heraldic crests. On the upper and lower bosses or knobs, that have been mentioned as enveloping the stems, are simply scrolls, but the middle ones are ornamented each with three birds, apparently of the goose kind, but with so little attention to ornithology, that it would be a useless puzzle to endeavour to assign the genus. The stems are covered with a scale pattern.

On an attentive consideration of that unerring guide—the costume, these curious specimens may be safely assigned to the commencement of the twelfth century, and it is surprising, when considering the elegance of their form, that they should have been so well preserved during seven hundred years.

The Pix, though evidently not belonging to the candlesticks, is of the same age, the style of art and enamelling corresponding in character. It is a hollow cylinder, with a conical cap, moving on a hinge. On the first are four angels, and in a trefoil on the other are three.

Two ancient Candlesticks have been engraved at the Society's ex-

pense: one in the XIVth Volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 279, found in the bed of the Witham, near Kirksted; the other in Vol. XV. p. 402, discovered in an old chest in the chancel of Ashbury church, Berks. In the description of this latter it is observed, that "the most ancient candlesticks had not sockets, but the candles were stuck upon spikes." If so, for assenting to which I shall presently give my reason, that of iron found in the Witham cannot be of so great antiquity as those now exhibited, being provided with two sockets. How old may be the invention of this more convenient mode I cannot undertake to determine, though two held by a figure in the costume of the time of Edward the Third, preserved in the College at Hereford till the late fire, take it back to that date, which is further confirmed by a similar figure brought to this country about four years ago from Germany, and another (the nozzles being omitted) engraved in Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*, erroneously as Etruscan. At the same time it must be confessed, though it by no means weighs in deciding the question, that spiked candlesticks have been continued for altars in some of the colleges at Oxford to the present day.

The word candelabrum, which is of classic use, occurring in the writings of Cicero and Martial, might lead one to suppose that candles were of high antiquity; yet all discoveries tend to show that this was a stand (originally at any rate) on which lamps were placed, or from which they were suspended. The Romans called such lamps in their own language *Lucerna*, because they gave *Lux* or light, as the Dutch and Germans term a candle *Licht*. They also naturalized the Greek words *Lampas* and *Lychnus* (Λύχνος). Thus the parable of our Saviour in the fourth chapter of Mark, verse 21: No one places ὁ λύχνος (a lamp) under a bushel, but places it upon τὴν κλίνην (a stand). So what has been termed the candlestick of the Synagogue, was a candelabrum with seven branches, on each of which was burnt the holy oil. Its form we know from the sculpture on the arch of Titus.

Yet the word *candela* is certainly of Roman origin, and with the use of candles was carried into all the Celtic and most of the Gothic nations.

Hence in Welsh the term is *canwyll* (pronounced *canoollth*), and in Gaelic *coinneal*. Our Saxon ancestors called it *candel*, and the ancient Danes, according to Wormius,^a *kindil*. The *chandelle* of the French, the *candela* of the Italians and Spaniards, and our own *candle*, prove this assertion. When the filum, or wick of the lamp, was first dipped in animal fat, or surrounded with wax, the records of antiquity do not inform us, though Pliny mentions the fact, when describing the torch by the name of *candela*. His words are, “*Funiculus pice illitus, aut cera vestitus, ex scirpo etiam fiebant* ;” which refer to the link, the torch, and the rushlight.

Considered as torches the use is very ancient. Thus, in the description of the palace of Alcinous, in the *Odyssey*, we have :

“ Youths forged of gold, at every table there
 Stood holding flaming torches, that in night
 Gave through the house each honour'd guest his light.”

These figures of young men were also applied for holding lamps, for Lucretius has :

“ *Si non aurea sunt juvenum simulacra per ædes,
 Lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
 Lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur.*

It has been already observed, that the spiked candlestick is more ancient than that with a socket, and it appears to me that by means of this spike the *candelabrum*, which previously had been the support of a lamp, was first made to hold a candle. Both the words *candela* and *candelabrum*, are derived from *candeo* “to shine, glitter, or burn,” and we may conclude, that the candle, as distinguished from the torch, had become established during the lower empire. The convenience of the invention had made the fashion prevalent before the Romans were compelled to withdraw their power from the greater part of Europe.

Gregory of Tours, who lived in the latter part of the sixth century,

^a Lit. Run. p. 164.

relates^b the story of a French nobleman, named Rauching, who, when a servant held a candle before him at his supper, made him uncover his legs and allow the burning wax to drop on them. If the man offered to move, he was ready with his sword to run him through, and the more the unfortunate sufferer lamented the more his unfeeling persecutor convulsed himself with laughter.

So the Welsh laws of Howel the Good, compiled in the tenth century, declare that "the candle-bearer ought to hold the candle before the king on the opposite side of the dish when he is eating," and we may admire the simplicity of the times which assigned as his fee all the broken bread, and whatsoever fell from the royal dish. If, therefore, good breeding depends on depriving oneself of an advantage for the benefit of another, the Chesterfield doctrine must have been inverted, and the more awkwardly the king took his meal, the greater would be his politeness. Whether his gentleman of the household had the candle-ends and cheese-parings we are not told, but may fairly infer the first of these from his office, and the latter from his country.

These living supporters of candles, like the torch-bearers of old, were soon imitated in metal, and in succeeding ages were varied in costume, displaying the civil or military dress, that of a fool, or the appearance of a naked savage.

I cannot better conclude these remarks, than by the insertion of the extract you were so kind as to send me from a manuscript^c of the time of Henry the Sixth, as it shows that in his time the wax candles of Paris were esteemed above all others. Under the head "de Officiariis in curiis Dominorum," is the following short section "de Candelario" the Chandler :

"Now speke I wylle a lytull whyle
Of the CHANDELER, with outen gyle,

^b Hist. lib. v. c. 3.

^c Among the Sloane collection and entitled the "Boke of Curtasye."

That torches & tortes & preketes con make,
 Perchours, smale condell I under take ;
 Of wax these candels all that brenne,
 And mortar of wax that I wele kenne ;
 The snof of hom dose a way
 With *close sesours*, as I 3ow say,
 The *sesours ben schort & rownde y close*,
With plate of irne up on bose.
 In chamber no ly3t ther shall be brent
 Bot of wax ther to yf 3e take tent.
 In hall at soper *schall caldells brenne*
Of Parys ther in that all men kenne ;
 Iche messe a candell fro Alhalawgh day
 To Candelmesse as I 3ou saye."

I remain, my dear Sir,
 most truly yours,

SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
 F. R. S. &c.

REFERENCES TO THE PLATE.

Fig. 1. One of the Candlesticks seen in perspective.

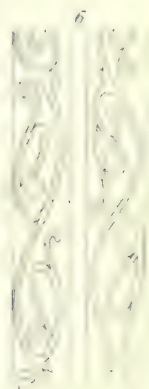
Fig. 2, 3, and 4. The three sides of the base of the Candlestick, of the full size.

Fig. 5. The centre Boss of the Candlestick of its full size.

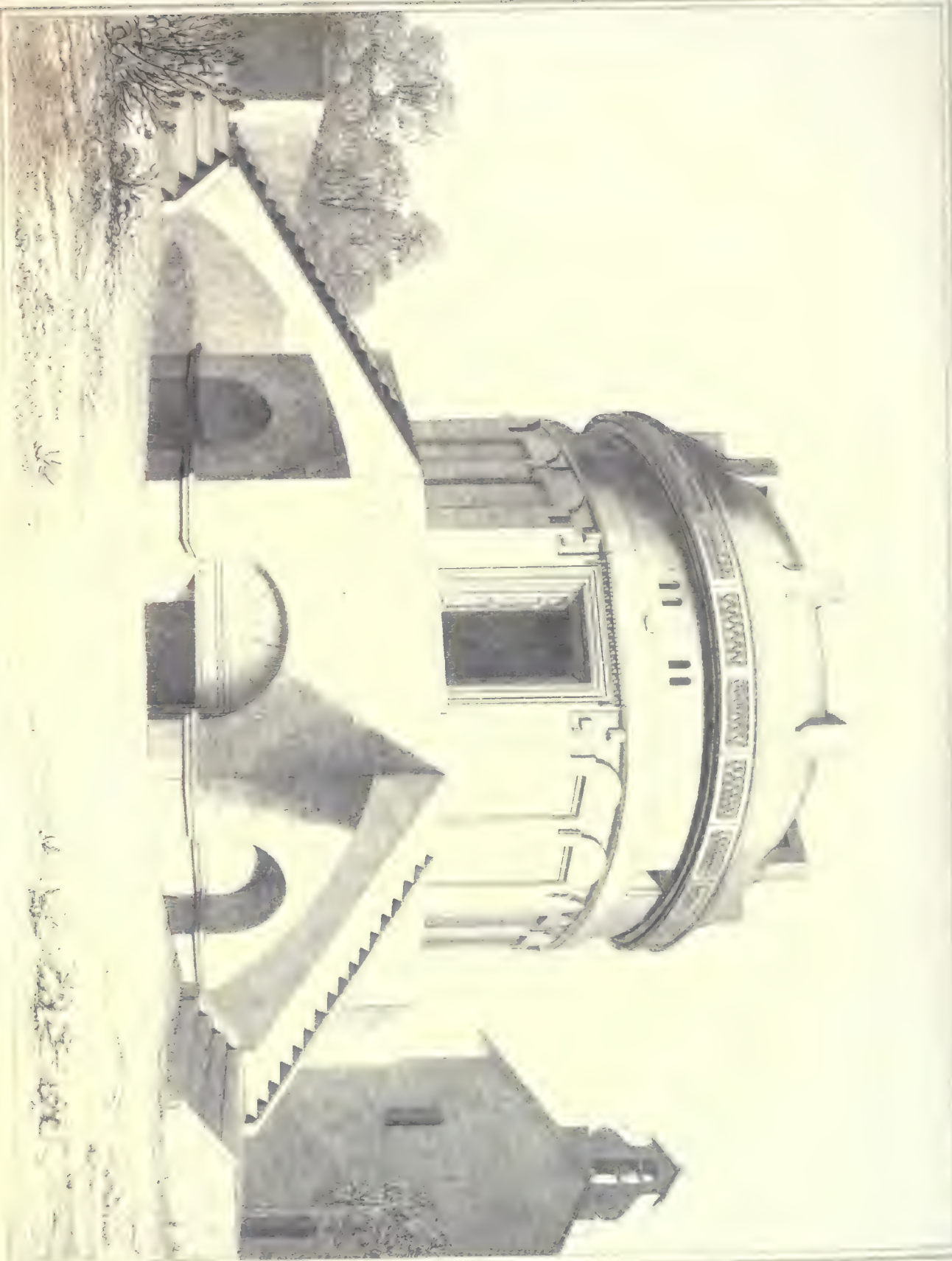
Fig. 6. Portion of one of the other Bosses of the full size.

Fig. 7. One of the Legs of its full dimensions.

The Candlesticks and Pix are now at Goodrich Court, in the County of Hereford.



Details of the relief of the 11th century, preserved at the Church of St. John.



MUSEUM, CAIRO, EGYPT.

THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO.

PLATE 28

XIX. *An Account of the Mausoleum of Theodoric, at Ravenna ;
in a Letter from SYDNEY SMIRKE, Esq. F.S.A., to HENRY
ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 16th December, 1830.

Regent Street, Dec. 14, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour to send you a drawing of the Mausoleum of Theodoric at Ravenna,^a with a request that you will lay it before the Society of Antiquaries, if you shall think it deserving of their notice.

Although the building must be well known to many who have visited that City, yet, as I am not aware that any detailed representation of it has been hitherto published, I trust that a drawing taken on the spot in 1825 will not be destitute of interest in the eye of an Antiquary. I have of course represented the building exactly in its present state: originally it must have presented a very different appearance. During the lapse of thirteen centuries the earth has accumulated round its basement to such a degree as to conceal the greater part of it beneath the general level of the surrounding country; the two flights of steps therefore are of modern construction, and from an examination of the upper story it is apparent that a decagonal arcade formerly encircled it, which has since either fallen into decay, or perhaps been purposely despoiled of its component stones. The part now standing is in good preservation, and is formed of ashlar blocks of limestone of large, but irregular, sizes.

The most remarkable object in this edifice is the dome which surmounts it, and which is formed of a single stone, excavated within, and worked to the proper convexity on its upper surface. Its

^a Plate XXIX.

diameter, as stated on a tablet preserved within the building, is forty-eight Roman palms and two inches; or nearly thirty-six feet in English measure. The difficulty of transporting, working, and lifting into its place a stone of such unwieldy dimensions may be easily imagined, and I am inclined to think that ignorance of the necessary contrivances for turning a dome in concentric courses of stone, can alone account for this most inartificial construction.^b The strange blocks carved on the outer circumference of the dome probably assisted in the elevation of the ponderous mass: they are inscribed with the names of the Saints for whose statues they are reported to have served as pedestals.

A glance at this building will convince you that the architect, whether Roman or Gothic, endeavoured, according to the well known instructions delivered by Theodoric to Cassiodorus, to imitate the style of those numerous monuments of earlier art which at that time embellished every part of the Roman Empire: and when we revert to the descriptions and representations extant of the Tomb of Hadrian, which must even then have been the glory of the imperial city, it is not fanciful to suppose that the Mausoleum of the Royal Ostrogoth was designed to mimic the form and splendour of its more colossal prototype.

The drawing N^o. 2,^c represents some of the details to a large scale, which plainly evince very imperfect knowledge of classic architecture. The exact resemblance of the moulded jambs of the lower door to corresponding parts in the structures of later times, is very remarkable. In the frieze of the principal cornice we may almost venture to recognize the rudiments of the zig-zag moulding which afterwards so profusely decorated the architecture of Europe.

By disencumbering it of the surrounding earth, reinstating the arcade, and adorning the dome with the statues and sarcophagus of

^b "Se vivo, fecit sibi monumentum, ex lapide quadrato, miræ magnitudinis opus, et saxum ingentem, quem super imponeret, inquisivit." Excerpta de Theoderico, &c. ad calc. Ammiani Marcellini, p. 671.

^c Plate XXX.

porphyry which are said to have crowned its circumference and summit, it would not be difficult, I think, to sketch a conjectural restoration of this Mausoleum, that would not, perhaps, be destitute of architectural elegance: but authentic materials are wanting to enable us to do this with certainty or precision.

From the authors whom I have searched without success for particulars illustrative of this Monument, I am tempted to extract, as amusing rather than appropriate, some passages relating to the remarkable circumstances of the death of the Gothic King. The first is from Procopius,^d who, after relating the unjust condemnation and death of Symmachus by the order of the Emperor, proceeds in the following words: "A few days afterwards, when the head of a fish of extraordinary size was served up for supper at the table of Theodoric, the Emperor fancied that he beheld the head of the murdered Symmachus, furiously menacing him with jaws armed with sharp and projecting teeth, and with a look of bitter and savage ferocity; terrified at so unexpected a prodigy, trembling and shivering beyond measure, he instantly retreated into his chamber, where he threw himself upon his bed and ordered a great quantity of bed-clothes to be heaped upon him." Within a few days after this singular apparition Theodoric died; and the account of Procopius here closes. For the sequel we are indebted to the Pope Gregory the Great, who in his *Dialogus de Vitâ*, &c. (Lib. iv. cap. 30) gives us the following narrative in the words of the very person from whom he himself had heard it, when still an inmate in a monastery: "When a relative of mine after discharging the office of a collector of tribute in Sicily was returning to Italy, his ship anchored off the island of Lipari; and because there abode in that island a hermit of great sanctity, he employed his time, while the crew were taking on board fresh provisions, in visiting the man of God and commending himself to his prayers. During the interview, the good man asked his visitors in course of conversation, 'Whether they knew of the death of Theodoric, the King?' 'God forbid,' they straightway replied; 'we left him alive, and no such news has since reached

^d *De Bello Gothico*, lib. i. cap. 1.

“our ears:’ but the servant of God said, ‘Yes, without doubt he is dead; “for yesterday, at the ninth hour, the Pope John and Symmachus the “patrician dragged him between them, stript, barefooted, and manacled, “and hurled him into the crater of the neighbouring volcano.’ On hearing this they carefully noted the day, and on their return into Italy, “found that Theodoric had actually died on the very day on which his “ultimate fate and punishment had been announced by the servant of “the Lord: so that, because he had caused the death of the Pope John “by vexatious imprisonment, and had put the noble Symmachus to the “sword, he was thrust into the flames by the very men who in his lifetime had been the victims of his injustice.”

In concluding this notice, I cannot help expressing a hope that it may be the means of leading some future artist to pay more attention than has usually been given to the surviving specimens of art of the early age to which this Mausoleum belongs. It would be an interesting labour to trace the history of architecture from the conclusion of the classic æra down to that period when the introduction of certain new features in design opened the way to a new style of art.

The progressive changes that took place during that interval were very gradual. The productions of the reign of Constantine, of which Italy affords many examples, are but slightly removed from the Roman works of higher antiquity. The transition again from the style prevalent during that Emperor’s reign to the rude architecture which characterizes the age of Theodoric (illustrations of which are chiefly to be sought in Ravenna) will be found to be by no means violent: and finally, by a comparison of these buildings with the works of the immediately succeeding centuries, abundant in Lombardy and in the other portions of the Empire of Charlemagne, we shall be enabled distinctly to trace the regular descent of Classic art till we arrive at the more familiar forms of the Saxon and Norman Architecture.

I am, dear Sir, with much respect,

Your very faithful Servant,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

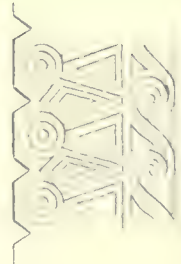
HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

Section of the moulded head
of the altar doorway.



Plan of the first arch, at the third

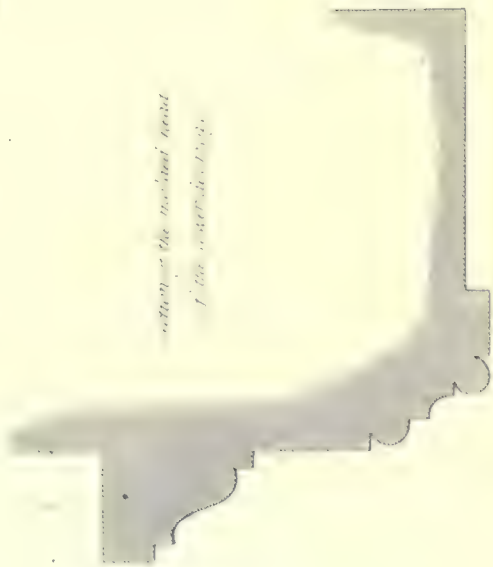


Section of the
Principal Cornice
Scale 4 in to a foot

Fig. 2



Section of the moulded head
of the altar doorway.



XX. *Historical notices of the Great Bell Tower of the Abbey Church of St. Edmundsbury: in a Letter from JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S., Director, to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 20th January, 1831.

DEAR SIR,

Lincoln's Inn, 24th December, 1830.

THE body^a of St. Edmund reposed in a basilica of wood until Canute, in a kingly spirit, *animositate regia*,^b raised a stone church to the honour of the martyr, which Egelnothus Archbishop of Canterbury, dedicated,^c with pomp, in 1032: and it is a remarkable fact in the history of our ecclesiastical architecture, that within half a century after the erection of this church it was pronounced unworthy of the improvement which had at that time taken place in the art of building. Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmund's, under the auspices of the Conqueror, laid the foundations of another church, because, says the monk Hermannus, a contemporary, *hæc quoque simplici facta schemate, non sic artificialis ut quædam construuntur hoc tempore.* The Presbytery of Baldwin's church, by the same author compared for magnificence to Solomon's Temple, was consecrated in 1095.^d

^a Magno tabulatus op'e multitudo fidelis in Beodrici villa sibi basilicam condidit, in primis, quã temp'e Cnuti piissimi Regis et Emme eius bone memorie coniugis, posteritas monachilis dilectione maiori lapideam reparavit, quæ etiã ab Eadnodo Cantuariensi Archi Ep'o dedicata ad usq' tempora n'ra duravit: hæc quoq' simplici facta scemate, non sic artificialis ut queda' construuntur hoc temp'e, a gloriosissimi Regis Angloru' Willelmi primi suasu, monitu, jussu, jussa est alia construi, &c. *Hermannus, MS. Cotton, Tib. B. II. fo. 77.* Ubi quiescit humatus Sanctus Eadmundus Rex et Martyr. *Liber Domesday.*

^b Malmesb. fo. 41.

^c Regist'm Nigrum Abb. Burgi St. Edmundi, MS. Bibl. Pub. Cantab. M.M. 4. 19. fo. 91 b. Reg'm Sacristæ Abb. Burgi S. Edm. MS. Bibl. Pub. Cantab. F.F. 2. 23. fo. 21. 23 b.

^d Herm. fo. 80 b.

The plan of the new building bore a near resemblance to Ely minster, and both had, at the west end, a high bell tower between lower lateral towers. It was not till the time of Samson X. abbot, elected in 1180, that the towers were finished.* Under Hugh, his predecessor, Samson, as subsacrist and master of the works, had collected a large quantity of material for building the great tower of the church, and after his accession to the abbacy, he was enabled, by the pecuniary assistance of some of the burgesses, to accomplish the structure.^f The monk, Jocelin de Brackland, in his Chronicle of St. Edmund's, has left us a spirited portrait^g of this distinguished ecclesiastic.

"Abbot Samson," says this historian, "was of middle stature, nearly bald; his face neither round, nor long; his nose prominent; his lips thick; and eyes clear as crystal, and of a piercing aspect; with high and thick eyebrows, which were often shaved; his hearing was particularly distinct; his voice liable to become hoarse with the slightest cold. At the time of his election, he was forty-seven years of age, having passed seventeen in the cloister; he had then a few white hairs in his red beard, and a very few in his black and somewhat curly locks; but, within fourteen years after his election, his hair became altogether white as snow. A man always temperate, never slothful, full of vigour, delighting in horse and foot exercise until old age moderated this ardour; who, from the time he heard of the taking of the Cross, and of the fall of Jerusalem,^h put on breeches (*femoralia*) of hair cloth, and a shirt of the same texture, instead of linen: and abstained from all animal food, though he still had meat served at his table for the increase of his almsgiving: preferring milk, honey, and such like sweet diet, to any other.

* Cronica Joscelini de Brakelond, MS. Harl. 1005.

^f *Attractum fecit magnum de lapidibus et sabulo ad magnam Turrim ecclesiæ construendam, &c.* Ibid. fo. 123.

^g Ibid. fo. 131.

^h "The news of this mournful event (which occurred in 1187) plunged the Christian world into the deepest consternation. The aged Pontiff died of a broken heart; William King of Sicily wore sackcloth for four days, and vowed to take the Cross; the other princes condemned their indolence, and the avarice which had prompted them to prefer their own petty interests before that which they deemed the common cause of the Christian religion." Lingard, Hist. of England, tom. II. fo. 148.

Liars, drunkards, and great talkers he hated.ⁱ He spoke French and Latin fluently, but relied more on strength of argument than on the graces of oratory. He could read English with much elegance, and was in the habit of preaching to the people in English, but after the dialect of Norfolk, where he was born and brought up; to which purpose he erected, in his church, a pulpit for the benefit of his hearers, and ornament of the church." The Chronicler, in another place, adds, that some of his enemies accused him of being choleric and unsocial, and called him *Pautnere*,^k and the *Barrator*^l of Norfolk.

But, from this digression, let us return to the Great Bell Tower or campanile of the church, the south side of which, as we learn from the register^m of William Curteys, who was Abbot at that time, suddenly fell down on the 15th of the kalends of January 1430, in the ninth year of King Henry VI. upon a commemorative feast of the Blessed Virgin. It was fortunate that the accident happened about one o'clock in the day, when the people were not assembled in the church, for the Tower adjoined the nave at the west end,ⁿ and only an hour and a half earlier,

ⁱ In the Chronicle a tedious passage follows, which is here omitted: it tends chiefly to show the Abbot's indifference to food, and his desire that the monks should imitate his example in that respect.

^k Paltenerius.—Paltonarius, superbus, ferox, ex veteri Franco *Pautonnier*.—Du Cange. See also, Roquefort, *Pautonier*.

Then sayde our kyng of renon,
That hyghte Rychard Coer de Lyon,
" Off your sawes I am blythe;
Let see arme you now swythe!
Ster you my galye, Trenchemer;
I wol asaye that *Pawtener*.
With myn ax I schal hem frape,
Ther schal no Sarezyn escape!"

Richard Coer de Lion, Weber's *Metr. Rom.* vol. II. p. 99.
And you schall hear a totted frere
Say "*stryke Pautnere*."

The Kyng and the Hermyt. *British Bibliograph.* tom. IV. p. 90.

^l A wrangler.

^m Registrum Curteys, abb. Burgi S. Edmundi penes Edm. Wodehouse, Arm. fo. 87 b. 88.

ⁿ De lamentabili casu magni Campanilis in occid. *fine ejusdem monasterij. Indentura receptorum abbatibus.* Ibid. fo. 309.

the whole or the greater part of the parish had been collected there to recite the office of our Lady; the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, lately taken down, being then in rebuilding. The walls are represented to have been weakened by the wooden frame introduced for the support of the bells, of the immoderate use of which the monks had loudly complained. On the morrow of the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the following year, the east side of the tower gave way, but in the mean time, the upper part with the lead and bells had been taken off, and at length, on the 4th of the kalends of April 1432, the north wall, on which the workmen were employed, came down without doing injury.

The Tower was in this dilapidated state when King Henry the Sixth^o visited the abbey in 1433, and the ruins prevented the Abbot and Convent from receiving the King at the west door of the church; on which account they met his Highness in full procession, half way between the south door and the gate of the precinct facing the west front, which gate, called by the monastic writers,^p *the great gate of the Church of St. Edmund*, or, *the great gate of the church-yard*, still remains an unrivalled example of gate-houses in the Circular Style.

To repair the damage occasioned by this calamity, Abbot Curteys, beside making certain appropriations^q from the abbey lands for the purpose,^r sought from the See of Rome a plenary indulgence to all the faithful who should contribute to the rebuilding of the Tower, the cost of which was estimated at sixty thousand ducats of gold.

The mason's contract^s occurs in the Abbot's register, and perhaps may be thought not unworthy of insertion in this place.

Indentura facē inē Abbātem Priorem & Contū de Sčo Edñio,
& Joñem Wode masoun, pro reparaçone & reformaç magni
Campanit, cui⁹ tenor sequit' in ñ verba.

This bille indentyd maad att Bury the xxv day of Auguste, yn the 3er of Kyng Herry the vj. aftir the conquest the xiiij. betwen Willyam

^o De adventu Regis Henrici Sexti ad monasterium de S'c'o Edm'. Ibid. fo. 110. Archæologia, tom. XV. fo. 65. 'The Infirmary was also in ruins at that time.

^p Reg^m. Nigrum, passim.

^q Reg^m. Curteys, fol. 309.

^r Ibid. fo. 293 b.

^s Ibid. fo. 308.

Abbot of seynt Edmundys monasterye of Bury aforeseyd, P'our & Couent of the same place on the to ptye, and John Wode, masoun, of Colchestr̃, on the todir ptye, bereth wytnesse of certeyn couen'tys maad betwix the seyde Abbot, P'our and Couent, and the seyde John Wode, that ys to seye, the seyde John Wode schal werke w^t on švāt vp on the stepil in the seyde monasterye in all mañ thynges that longe to fremasounrye, fro the feste of seynt Michael next folwyng aftyr the date afore reh̃syd, yn to the terme of vij 3eer aftir next folwyng, takyng 3eerly of the seyde Abbot, P'our and Couent, for hys stypend and hys šuauntes x.li. yn mony at iiij termys in the yeer, that ys to seye, Cristemasse, Ešne, Mydsof̃, and Micheelmasse, be the handys of the mays̃t of the werkes assynyd be the Chapetr̃. And the seyde John Wode schal haue hys bord in the Couentys halle for hym and hys man, for hym self as a gentilman, and for hys švaunt as for a yoman ; And therto too robys, on for hym self of gentilmannys liuere, and for hys šuaunt anothir of yomānys lyvere of the Sexteyn : And yf no lyuere be youe, he shal haue for the seyde robys xxij.s. iiij.d. And for so myche that the seyde John shal haue hys robe, and mete and drynk in the P'ourys name, as on of hys gentilmen, therefore, suche tyme as he ys not occupyed in hys werk, he shal be tendyng vp on the P'our, and not goo out of towne passyng too dayes yn a quar̃t, lesse than he haue a special leue of the P'our and of the mays̃t of the werkes : And yf he or hys man be absent from hys werk passyng ij dayes in a q'r̃t, than the mays̃t of the werk shal wyth drawe hys stipend aftyr the rate of the forseyd x.li. that ys to seye, for hys stipend eūy day that he ys absent fro hys werk v.d. and for hys šuaunt iiij.d. And in caas be he or hys šuaunt falle seek, as longe as he ys fro hys werk he schal not take for hys stipend, but alowe the mays̃t of the werk for eūy day, as yt ys seyde afore : Neūtheles the seyde Abbot, Priour and Couent gr'untyn, that althow the seyde John or hys šuaunt be cause of infirmyte may not werke, 3yt yf they will come to halle to ther mete, they shal haue yt there frely, and in non othir place, so that the infirmyte be not continually vp on them wherthorw they be lyke no more for to werke. In Wytnesse of all that ys seyde to fore, vn to the too ptye of thys bille indentyd, restyng in the handys of the sayde Abbot,

Prio' & Couentys syde, the seyd John Wode hath sett to hys seel: Un to the todir ptye of th same bille indentyd, restyng on the seyd John Wodys syde, in the name of the seyd Abbot, P'our & Couent, the Priour hath sette to hys seel. Youyn in the foreseyd monastye, the yer and day afore rehersyd.

By subsequent agreement, preserved in the same record,[†] the Abbot was authorized to send as many workmen to the building as he might think expedient, paying into Wode's hands, as master of the works, for their wages and maintenance, three shillings per man weekly, in the winter months, and three shillings and four pence in summer. The Abbot also engaged^u with John Arnold and Herman Remond, brick-burners, that they should make for him, at his manor of Chevington, as many bricks as they were able within a year, the Abbot finding them materials, and a chamber, and paying two shillings for every thousand bricks, beside allowing to each a cloak and hood of his own livery.

Shortly after the commencement of the building of the Tower an inundation took place^x on the 29th May 1439, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when there was such a flow of water for an hour and a half, through the folding doors of St. James' Church,^y that it covered the benches nearly a hand's depth, and running through the church-yard toward the nave of the church of the monastery of St. Edmund, entered both the west and south doors, penetrating as far as the chapel of the Blessed Virgin *in cryptis*, where a boat could have floated, and notwithstanding the chapel was filled, the water in the nave was as high as a man's leg. The cellar and pantry in the Abbot's parlour were also filled with water. To avoid a similar accident in future, the Abbot, by the advice of his masons, gave orders that the pavement of the new Bell Tower should be raised three steps higher than it was before.

[†] Indentura dat. 1 Sept. 17 Hen. VI. Ibid. fo. 308 b.

^u Ibid. fo. 318 b. 319. This document will be found, numbered xxxvii. in the Appendix to the History of St. Edmundsbury Monastery. Dugdale's Monasticon Angl. Lond. 1819.

^x Regm. Curteys, fo. 323.

^y In front of St. James's Church is a deep shore or channel, now arched over, which was open within the memory of man, and subject to overflow.

In various testaments^z proved before the Sacrist of St. Edmund's, and dated at different times, from the year 1441, legacies occur toward rebuilding the Bell Tower. In 1461, John Amy, chaplain,^a desired to be buried in *magno ostio novi campanilis*; yet the structure was not then complete, for, in 1465, a legacy was^b bequeathed for more speedily finishing the campanile; and in testaments^c so late as the years 1495 and 1500, legacies were given for building the new steeple at the west end of the monastery. How little was it foreseen, that almost in the narrow compass of a quarter of a century, the same eagerness would be manifested in the demolition, as had been shown in the erection of those sacred edifices. Now, the very foundations of the once splendid monastery of St. Edmund in many parts are destroyed, a fate which has too often awaited monastic buildings in towns.

The flinty fragments of a south pier of the tower have escaped the hand of destruction, and, together with the flint work of the western façade, which is a mass of deformity, point out to us the spot where the Bell Tower once stood.

I am, dear Sir, Your obedient humble Servant,

JOHN GAGE.

^z Inter alia, "Itm lego fabrice nov' Campanil' mon' S'c'i Edm' iij^s. iiij^d." *Testam' Joh'is Hert*; dat. 21 Sept. 1441; prob. 16 Nov. sequ. *Reg'm Osbern*, fo. 248. It' lego ad fabricam novi Campanil' dict' mon' iiij^{or} marc'. *Testam' Dionysia Redgys*; dat' 26 Julii, 1449; prob' 12 Aug. sequ. *Reg'm Haulee*, fo. 129.

^a In p'mis lego a'i'am mea' Deo O'ipotenti, B'æ Mariæ Virg', et o'ib's Sc's, corpus q'3 meū eccle'asticæ sepulturæ, videl'; sub lapide jacente in mago ostio novi campanil' Mo's-t'ii S'c'i Ed'i in Bury p'd'. *Testam' Joh'is Amy* dat' 4 Maii, 1461; probat. 20 Julii sequ'. *Ibid*.

^b It' lego ad cel'iozem expedic'onem campanilis Monast' de Bury, S'c'i Ed'i noviter faciend' xxvj^s. viij^d. *Testam' Matth. Robert*; dat. 2 Apr. 1465; prob. 8 Maii, sequ. *Ibid*, fo. 85.

^c Itm lego ad edificationem novi Campanil' in Monasterio p'd'ct' qui'que libras. *Testam. Thomæ Eden*; dat. 4 Sept. 1495; prob' 20 Maii anno sequ. *Reg'm Pye*, fo. 44. Itm, I bequeath to the bylding of the new Stepyll w'tin the said Monastery, vj^s. viij^d. *Testam. Gul Legat*; dat. 4 Julii, 1500; prob. die Lunæ, p'x post festum exalt' S. Crucis. *Ibid*, fo. 100.

XXI. *Account of King Henry the Eighth's Entry into Lincoln, in 1541: Communicated in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, from FREDERIC MADDEN, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 20th January, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Jan. 18, 1831.

THERE are but few probably of the members of this Society so slightly versed in the history of their country as not to recollect the great Lincolnshire rebellion in 1536, when a body of men, amounting, according to historians, to 20,000 men, headed by Dr. Makerel, the Abbot of Barlings, under the assumed name of *Captain Cobler*, had the hardihood to assemble and remonstrate to Henry the Eighth, against the suppression of the religious houses, the exaction of subsidies, the grant of first-fruits, and other arbitrary proceedings of the King, his Council, and Parliament. The first cause of this serious disturbance is alleged to have been the publication of a book, entitled "Articles devised by the King's highness," &c. in which only *three* sacraments were allowed; and the dissatisfaction given to the clergy by this step, was not long after augmented by the injunctions issued by Cromwell, in Sept. 1536, that the *Pater-noster*, *Ave*, Creed, and Commandments, should be read in English, which, as Holinshed writes, "bred a great misliking in the harts of the common people, which had beene euer brought vp and trained in contrarie doctrine." The issue of this affair is well known:—the reply of Henry to the rebels, in which they are called in no courtly terms, "the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute and beastly of the whole realme;" and their final submission to the Duke of Suffolk. In the summer of 1541, five years after the above commotion,

the King kept his progress to York, and in his way through Lincolnshire, received the humble submission of the people for their offence, with various sums of money offered by the principal towns, as a sort of propitiatory tribute for forgiveness. The earliest notice in print of this progress I am acquainted with is very brief, and occurs in Hall's Chronicle, fol. ccxliij b. whence it has been copied by many subsequent writers. But, in a volume among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, consisting of various Ceremonials at the Christenings and Creations of Princes and Noblemen, written chiefly in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, I find on fol. 179, the passage of Hall, followed by an account of the King's entry into the city of Lincoln, on the above occasion, which was evidently composed by one of the Heralds present, and which is sufficiently curious to authorise its transcription. The handwriting of the article is that of William Colburne, Rouge-dragon, and York Herald, to which latter office he was appointed in 1564. The details of the procession, the dresses of the King and Queen Catharine Howard (whose guilt, it will be remembered, with Thomas Culpeper, was established by evidence of the fatal night she passed at Lincoln,) and their suite, will serve to illustrate the mode in which these Progresses were usually conducted, whilst the general and close resemblance of Henry's entry into Lincoln to that of Richard the Second and his Queen into London, on a similar occasion, will not fail to strike those who have read the description of the latter by Richard de Maydestone, preserved in the Bodleian Library. It may be interesting also to compare the account here given with that of the visit of King James the First to Lincoln, on his way to Scotland, in 1617, printed in Nichols's Progresses of James I. vol. iii. pp. 260—266, which contains many curious particulars touching the state and ceremony observed on such occasions.

I remain, my dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.

Secretary S. A.

[MS. Add. 6113, f. 179 b.]

Of the K^e Entree into lyncolñ, on Tuesday the ix daye of Auguste.

In Primis, aftre hyt was knowen that his hyghnes was com̃ to temple Brewer to dynñ, being vij myles dystant froñ lyncolne. The mayre of the said Cytte, w^t hys bretherne Burgesys, & other Comoners prepared them selfe towardē the heyght lyke as all other Gentlemen & yeomen of lynsey coste & there abowte dyd, nere vnto the place where hys grace tentē & haylle^a were pytchyd.

Itm̃ the Gentlemen of lyncolne shere dyde arraye theyre šu'nte on horsbacke all on one syde where the K^e Ma^{tie} shulde passe.

Mr. Mayre of lyncolne & his bretherne on ffote.

Itm̃ the Archedeacoñ of lyncolne, lord Deane, prebendaries, Vyccars, wth manye other psons & pryste of the same Cyttye, rodde & mette the Kinge one myle wthowt the lybertie of lyncolne before his hyghenes cam̃ to hys tentē, & there dyd mak theyre ppocycoñ in lattyn, presentinge his grace wth one Gyfte namyd in vitall, resyted in theyre ppocycoñ, and that doñ passyd the nerest waye to the Mynster of lyncolne agayne.

Itm̃ then his grace cam̃ rydinge & entryd into hys tente, w^{ch} was pytchyd at the farthest ende of the lybertie of lyncolne, the Quenes grace w^t hym in his owne tente, and there dyd shyfte theyre apparrell, for his grace was apparellyd before he cam̃ to hys tente in Greene veluet, & the quene in Crymesyn veluet, and then the Kinge shyftyd hym into clothe of golde, & the quene into clothe of sylū.

Itm̃ behynde his grac tente was another for ladies.

Itm̃ on thother syde a good space dystante was the hayle pytchyd, wherin was the vj Chylderne of honour shyftyd & apparellyd wth clothe

^a *Hale*, or tent, *Papilio*, *Scena*. *Prompt. Parv.* MS. Harl. 221.

of golde & Crymesyn veluet, wherin also was prepared & made readye, as well the K^e & queenes horssys of Estate as the horssys they rodde on.

Itm afire that eūye thyng was sett in good ordre, the K^e Matie wth the Queene were sett on horsse, and then the herolde of armes put on theyre cotes, and the Gentlemen pencyoners, wth all other of the K^e most royall trayne, dyd ryde in ordre hon^lablye, accordinge to the aun-cyent ordre, my lorde Hastinge bearing the Swerde before his hyghenes.

Then hys Ma^{tie}.

Then his grace horsse ledd by his m^r of the horsse.

Then the vj Chylderne of honour yche afire other on greate coursers.

Then therle of Rutland, beinge the queenes Chambrelayne.

Then the Queene.

Then the Queenes horsse of Estate.

Then all [the] ladyes in good ordre.

Then the Captayne of the Garde, and the garde afire hym.

Then the comoners as they fell to the trayne.

In pceding thus, not farre fro the tent, M^r Myssleden, Sergieant at lawe, beinge recourder of lyncolne, wth gentlemen of the Cuntrey, the Mayre of lyncolne, wth his bretherne & other comōners, at the entrie of the lybertie, knealid on theyre knees & cryed too tymes, Jhus saue yo^r grace !

Itm thys beinge doñ, the Recourder dyd knele downe ij tymes on hys knee, drawinge neere vnto hys grace, & redde a ppocycyoñ in Englishe (Gentlemen & the Mayre wth his bretherne knelinge styll on theyre knees) and when he had redd, kyssyd it, & rosse & delyūed it vnto the Kinge, who toke & gaue it to the Duke of norffolke, presentinge in lyke case one Gyfte namyd in Vytall, resyted in theyre p^rposycyon.

Itm this doñ, the Mayre presented the swerde & mase of the Cyttie to the Kinge, & then he was placyd agenste the kinge at armes namyd Clarenceaux, behynde the Dukes, and berynge the mase in hys ryght hande.

Itm all the Mayres Bretherne & burgessys were placyd in the fronte of the trayne.

Then Gentlemen of the Cuntrey.

Then Knyghte.

And then the K^e trayne.

Itm belle were Ronge not onlye in the Cuntrey at all Churchys where his grace cam so sone as they had a sight of hys trayne, and so in lyke mann^y there in lyncolne & dyusse place adyoynynge.

Itm thus pcedinge at the entrye of the mynster thorowe the Cyttie, the Mayre & his bretherne drewe them celfe apte at the entrye of the mynster gates.

Itm the busshoppe of lyncolne wth all thole Queere & crosse were readye, & stodde in the mynster alonge on bothe sydes the bodye of the Church, gyvinge attend'unce, and when his grace was alyghtid at the weste ende of the mynster, where were ordenyd & spred as well carpett as stooles wth quysseons of clothe of golde, for the K^e hyghnes, wheron was a crucifyx laid, and one other on the queenes grace stoole.

Itm afre his grace was kneelid downe the busshoppe cam forthe of the Church & gaue the Crucifyx to the Kinge to kysse, & then to the queen, and then censyd them, hys myter beinge on hys heade, and thus pceded they into the Church, the Kinge & queenes grace goinge vndre the Canape to the Sacrement, where they made theyre prayers, thole queere synginge melodyouslye *Te Deu'*, and afre this don, his grace went strayght to his lodginge, and in lyke case all the trayne for that nyght.

Itm the m^r. of the K^e horsse toke the carpett & stooles for his ffee.

Itm on the morrowe, beinge wenysday, his grace rode at afre none to the Castle, & dyd vewe hit, & the Cyttie.

Itm the fotemen toke the Canape for theyre ffee.

Itm his grace & the quene deptyd on fryday fro lyncolne to Gaynsborowghe, pcedinge forthe of the Cyttie wth trumpettters, herolde, & his trayne, in lyke case as his grace entryd, savinge the Mayre, the henchemen, nor horssys of Estate were not there.

Itm therle of Darbie bare the swerde that daye.

XXII. *Letters from King Henry VI. to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, and to the Alderman and Bailiffs of the town, for the suppression of the Lollards: Communicated by JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S., Director, to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S., Secretary, &c.*

Read 3rd February, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

Lincoln's Inn.

IN the Register belonging to the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, compiled in the time of William Curteys XXV Abbot, are two letters from King Henry VI. addressed, one to the Abbot, and the other to the Alderman and Bailiffs of the town, for the suppression of Lollards, and other seditious persons. As these letters, or any on the occasion which gave rise to them, do not occur in our historians, I send you copies of them: they appear to have been written in 1431.^a

Your obedient humble Servant,

JOHN GAGE.

^a "1431. Soone after Easter the Lord Protector was warned of an assembly of certaine lewd persons, under pretence of religious minded men, to be assembled at Abingdon, wherefore he sent thither certaine persons, and also rode thither himself, and there arrested the Baily of the towne, named William Mandevil, a weaver, the which was appointed for a Captaine, who had named himself Jack Sharpe of Wigmer's land, in Wales, who being examined, confessed that he meant to have done many mischiefs, especially against priests, so that he would have made their heads as cheap as sheepes heads, (that is to say) three or foure a penny, (or, as some write, ten for a penny); many

I.

[*Regist. Curteys penes Edm. Wodehouse, Armig. fol. 301.*]

Lřa dñi Regis de p̃uato sigillo direct̃ dño A. p̃ insurrecōe
Lollardoꝝ latronū & at̃ malefacōꝝ p̃uide euitando, p̃ eo qđ
nonnulli hũř malefacōres in Coñ Cantabriĝ insurgere ppone-
bant, put in eadem lřa plenř declarat̃; cuiř lře tenor sequit̃
in hec verba.

Be the Kyng.

Ryght trusty & welbelouyd, ffor asmoche as that, in this holy tyme of Whytsonwoke, the mysgoūned men of dyūs Shires of this oure land, & in especyal the Shire of Kent, aswel lollardes as other robbers & pillers of oure peple, were, in grete noumbre, & in ryotous wyse, gaderyng in the said Shire of Kent, to haue do the harme that they coude haue myght, and to have subūtyd al the polletique reule of this oure land; of the whiche mysgoūned men, S^r Nichol Coneway, knyght, the whiche is now take & set faste in presoñ, shuld a bene a Capitaigne; and of

of his complices were taken and sent to diuers prisons. Their Captaine was drawne, hanged, and headed at Abingdon, and his head was sent to London and set on the bridge, his other fautors were executed in diuers places and countries to the terror of other. Also, the thirteene of July, Richard Russel, woolman, was drawne, hanged, and quartered, for that he would have made Dukes and Earls at his pleasure." Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, fo. 372. "While these things were doing in France, Henry Beauforde, Cardinall of Winchester, was sailed again into Englande, to appease and repress certain divisions and commociōs, sprung up by mischevous and pernicious persons, within the realm, which, under the colour of a new sect of religion, conjured together, to disquiet and vert the whole quietnes of the realme. But after that William Maundeville and Jhō Sharpe were taken and executed by the governor and the kinge's justices, the remnaunt yielded and co'fessed there offences, whereof two articles wer these, as some men wrote, —that priestes should have no possessions; and that all thinges, by the order of charitie amongst Christian people, should be in common." Hall, edit. 1543, fo. 120 b. See also Annales Wilhelmi Wyrcester, 1431.

the whiche also mysgoũned men there be takyn & in þsone a grete noumbř; and, as we be now enformyd, there is like to be a semble gaderyng in Cantebr̃ Shire, and as it is sayd, abowte Cantebr̃ towne; We wol therfor that anone, afť the sight of thyse our lr̃s, ye doo al the diligence that ye can & may to the good reule of our saide Shire of Cantebr̃, and in especyal have a sight that there be no gaderyng of suche mysgoũnyd men, and at al tymes to be redy, w^t all the myght & power that ye can & may gete for the resistance of ther malicious entent & purpos as it is to þsume they wold doo & execute. And more oũ We wil & charge yow to certefye vs in this behalf, from tyme to tyme, as the caas shal happen & require. Yoven vndir oure p'ue seal, at Westm̃, the vth day of Juyn.

II.

[*Ib. fol. 84.*]

By the Kyng.

Trusty and welbeloued, the malicious entent and p'pos of goddis treito's and oures, heretiques in this oure Reaume, cōmenly called lollardis, the which now late by setting vp of cedicious billes, and oýwise, treiturly exhorted, stired, and meued ye poeple of oure land, to assemble, gadre, and arise a yenst goddis pees and oures, is not vnknowyn to yow, ne to no man endewed with reson, foresight, or discrecion: ye which how be it yat yei of high subtilite, fraude, and felnesse, feyñ, þtende, and write such thyng as yei trowe to blynde with yoo yat be simple, and to drawe by thire hertis and affeccions to yem and thire entent, intendyng neũlesse and p'posyng, with oute eny doute, ye subusion of ye xþen feith, and bileue of vs also, and of alle estatis, and gentilmen, and geñaly of all trewe xþen men and wýmen, yat wol not folow hem, and assiste hem in here dampnable errours, entent, and p'pos; and wolde destroie alle politique rule and goũnaile, spüel and temporel.

And consideryng yat yei, ayenst godds lawe and mannes, sture oure poeple, with oute oure cōmaundement or auctorite, to assemble and arrise, and yerwith p'pos and wolde take vpon hem and vsurpe aswel oure roial powere and auctorite as ye chirches, and vse correccion and goūnaille in no wise be langyng vnto hem yat owen to be goūned, and not so to goūne; ye which sturyng and vsurpacion of oure roial power, by ye lawe of this oure land is tresoñ, ech resonable man may wel fele, yat in eschuyng of, chastisyng, and reddoure of oure lawes, yei so doing, wolde neue' be yaire willes come to rekenyng yof, but dispose hem to be out of subjection, obeissance, or awe of vs, and of oure lawe; and, as God knoweth, neyere wolde yei be subgitt to His, ne to mannes, but wolde be louse and free, to robbe, reue, and dispoille, slee, and distroie alle men of estate, thrift, and worship, as yei p'posed to haue do in oure fadres daies, and of ladds and lurdains wolde make lordes, and geñaly wolde vse, do, and fulfille alle yeire lustys and willes yat God forbede: and howe be it yat by ye grace of oure lord, and ye grete and notable diligence of oure bele vncle of Gloucestř oure lieutenant, and of othir Coñmissioners and juges in sondry places, lawful execucion hay be doon vpon diuse of ye said godds treito's and oures, the which of reson owed to haue be vnto hem and yeire complices extreme confusion and rebuke; neūyelesse it is credibly frome day to day reported vnto oure said lieutenant and consail here, in diūse wises, yat ye wiked and malicious p'pos of ye said traitours cesseth not, but continueth and abidey: wherfor, how be it, yat We wrote late agoo vnto yow yat be knowe true vnto god and vs, to yentent yat folweth: neūlesse, for as much as We know not wheỹ oure said lřes come vnto yow or no, We write efte vnto you, p'yng yow hertly and also chargyng yow on ye feith, trouth, and ligeance yat ye howe to god and to vs, yat with alle diligence, and with oute delay or tareyng, ye ordeyne and array yow and youres, and sture othir sicke as wol accompanye yow, to be redy to assemble, with oyere of oure trewe liege men to do ye same, and with-stande, myghtily chastise, and subdue ye dampnable malice and entre-prise of goddis said traito's and oures, ye which yee and alle oure

trewe liege men haue gret cause and maȝe to haue in grete awayte. And, in especiale, We wol and charge yow, yat yee enquire, considere, and take gode hede, fro tyme to tyme, which of ye inhabitantes in ye cuntree aboute yow haue nowe of late tyme absented hem, or absent hem hereaftire, oȝwise yen yaire occupacion or craft axeth; and also of straunge and vnknownen comers, such as eny maȝe of ille suspicion may resonably be felt ynne, and yat ye areste, serch, and examine hem in ye straitest wise, whens yei come, and wher yei have be, and of alle ye dayes, tymes, and places of yeire absence, and also of soweris of ceditious, disclaundrours, or trubulos langage, or talys. Oũ yis nat suffer-yng pryue gaderynges, or conuenticles to be had or made, be nyght, or be day, yere aboute yow, hauyng alwey your recours and resort, when someue' yow thynk yat nede is, for yo' soco', your help, and confort, to our saide lieutenant and consail, whome ye shul fynde eũ wele willed and disposed to purvey yat yat may be to your suretee and confort, and ese; and faillith not in due and diligent execucion of yese y ynges be forsaid, as ye desire oure psperite and youres and welfare. Yeuen vndre oure priue Seel at Wesmynstre ye vj day of Juyll.

To oure trusty and wel beloued
ye Alderman & Balifs of oure town of Bury.

XXIII. *Narrative of the Visit of the Duke de Nájera to England, in the year 1543-4; written by his Secretary, Pedro de Gante: Communicated in a Letter to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. M.P., Vice President S.A. by FREDERIC MADDEN, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 27th January, 1831.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Jan. 25th, 1831.

I VENTURE to offer to the notice of the Society, through your hands, an account of the visit made by Don Manriquez de Lara, Duke of Nájera, to England, in the year 1543-4. All contemporary narratives of this nature are interesting, more especially when written, as in the present instance, for private information only; and in this respect the relation in question possesses perhaps a superior claim to those of Paulo Jovio, Micheli, Perlin, and Hentzner, already before the public. It is extracted from a folio MS. volume, recently acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, which is stated to have been procured from the library of Thomas Iriarte, the well known Spanish poet, and Archiviste of the Council of State. This volume consists of copies of a variety of valuable documents in the form of correspondence, narratives, and diplomatic instruments, from the year 1520 to the commencement of the sixteenth century, chiefly illustrative of the history of Spain during that period, but embracing also the transactions in Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Africa. The article from which I have excerpted the paper which accompanies these remarks, occurs at fol. 114, and is thus entitled: *Relaçion de la*

Jornada que el Emperador y Rey n'ro señor hizo a Italia, Alemania, y Flandes en este presente año de 1543, en que se contiene la conquista q' su M^a hizo de los Ducados de Julies y Geldres, contra el Duque de Cleues, vno de los Prinçipes del Imperio, y la guerra entre el Emp^{er} y el Rey de França. Scriuiola P^o de Gante secret^o del Duque de Nagera, q' se hallo pres^{te} a las cosas q' en ella succedieron, or "A relation of the expedition made by the Emperor [Charles the Fifth] into Italy, Germany, and Flanders in 1543, with the conquest of the Duchies of Juliers and Gueldres from the Duke of Cleves, one of the Princes of the Empire, as also the war between the Emperor and the King of France; written by Pedro de Gante, Secretary of the Duke of Nájera, who was present at the whole of these occurrences."

Don Manriquez de Lara, third Duke of Nájera, was a Spanish nobleman of the highest class, a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and descended from one of the most ancient and powerful families of Castile.^a He was the eldest son of Don Antonio Manriquez de Lara, second Duke of Nájera, by Doña Juana de Cardona, daughter and heiress of Don Juan Ramon Folch, first Duke of Cardona, and was born on the 20th Dec. 1504. On the death of his father, 13 Dec. 1535, he succeeded to the title, and by his important services to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and his son Philip, surpassed even the military fame of his predecessor, more particularly in the expeditions against Tunis, and into Italy and Flanders, so minutely detailed by the Secretary who accompanied him. It was on the conclusion of the latter campaign that he requested leave from the Emperor to return home, and leaving Brussels on the 29th Dec. 1543, he availed himself of this opportunity to visit England and pay his court to King Henry the Eighth.

The Journal of this visit, kept by his Secretary, has been rendered into English as closely as the idioms of the two languages would admit

^a See the *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, by Molina, fol. Sev. 1588, and the *Hist. de la insigne Order del Toyson de Oro*, by Julian de Pinedo y Salazar, fol. tom. i. pp. 168, 201.

of, since it appeared desirable to retain, as far as possible, the exact tone of the writer's sentiments. The vanity of the Spaniard is sufficiently remarkable in it, particularly on one occasion, when, to explain the cause of the Duke's remaining in London four days before he could gain an audience of the King, he supposes the delay was occasioned by the King's wishing to gain time to summon his nobles, so that he might receive the Duke "con mucha autoridad!" And again, when the Secretary was not permitted to accompany his master to the presence chamber, he vents his resentment by describing the King as another Dionysius of Syracuse, a terror to all around, and fearful and suspicious of all in return. His account of the Duke's interview with Queen Catharine Parr and the Princess Mary is not without interest, and it may be remarked, that the description of the latter's personal appearance and manners, corresponds with those given by various other contemporary authorities, as I may have occasion to show elsewhere. It is unnecessary to pursue these observations further, as the writer's details will best speak for themselves, and such notes as seemed to be required in illustration are annexed to the transcript.

I do not find any notice in our historians of the Duke de Nájera's visit, nor is that surprising, since its object was not of a public nature. But in a Household Book of King Henry the Eighth in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. containing the disbursements from Sept. 1543 to October 1544, the following entry occurs in March: "Item, to s̄ George Carowe, knight, being appointed to repaire vnto Plymmoth for the pacifying of a mater Chaunced ther betwene the Townesmen and certeine of the Duke of Nágares šu'ntę, as apperyth by a waraunt bering date the xxviiijth daye of m̄che, anno xxxv^o.—xxli." The nature of this dispute is not stated, and the Secretary is wholly silent on the subject; but it is possible it might have arisen from the loss of some of the vessels hired by the Duke for his embarkation, as described in the narrative.

Very little more of the Duke's history is to be traced. In 1529^b h

^b *Annales de Sevilla*, fol. Madr. 1677, p. 492.

married Doña Luisa de Acuña, only daughter of Don Henrique de Acuña, Count of Valencia, by whom he left Don Juan Manriquez de Lara, fourth Duke of Nájera, and other children. He was elected a Knight of the Golden Fleece at the general Chapter held at Utrecht, in 1545, and is stated by Maurice^c to have accompanied King Philip to England in 1554, to assist at the nuptials celebrated at Winchester with Queen Mary. This appears to be a mistake, arising from his being confounded with Manriquez, Marquess of Aguilar, who, according to Holinshed, was actually present. A personal description of the Duke, and long panegyric on his virtues, are inserted by his Secretary, at fol. 165 b. of the MS. before me, which would be of value to any future genealogist of this noble family. He died at Valencia, on the 22d January 1558, and was buried in the chapel of Santa Maria la Real of Nájera.

I have subjoined in some few instances the original text, as the most satisfactory mode of correcting any error I may have made in the translation.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient faithful Servant,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. M. P.
Vice-President S. A. &c. &c. &c.

^c Blason des Armoiries de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or, fol. La Haye, 1667.

Relation of the Emperor's expedition to Italy, Germany, and Flanders, in 1543, &c. written by Pedro de Gaute, Secretary of the Duke of Nájera, who was present at all that took place. (Excerpt relative to the Duke's visit to England.)

As it appeared to the Duke of Nájera, after having followed and served the Emperor in a series of victories so honourable and advantageous as have been related, that he had fulfilled his duty towards his Sovereign, he requested leave to return homewards, and the Duke of Albuquerque and the Archbishop of Santiago did the same. The Duke left Brussels for Spain on Sunday, the 29th of December [1543], and proceeded four leagues to sleep at Malines, a place consisting of 4,000 houses, where he remained until the Sunday following. On Monday, he went four leagues further, to Antwerp, a strong town of more than 12,000 houses, and, in regard to its commerce and wealth, the most powerful in Christendom. Here are imported and kept in warehouses the merchandise of the cities of Seville, Lisbon, and Genoa, which, among Christians, are the chief seats of commercial transactions. Friday, the 18th of January [1543-4], the Duke quitted Antwerp, having in his company Don Rodriquez de Mendoça,^d brother of the Marquess of Ceñete,^e Tello de Guzman, a gentleman of Toledo, Don Philip Cerbellon, and other gentlemen who were journeying towards Spain. Three days were passed in travelling the fifteen leagues which lay between Antwerp and Bruges. The latter consists of 15,000 houses, and is better situated and more respectably inhabited than any town in these parts; and here those merchants of the Spanish nations who trade in Flanders are accustomed to reside. The Spaniards paid great court to the Duke, as well by presents as by various costly^f entertainments (?)

^d Afterwards created Marquess of Montesclaros, by Charles the Fifth.

^e Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoça, Duke of Infantadgo, and Marquess of Cinete.

^f "Assi de presentes como de diuersas repoçisas de mas caras, y momerias de hombres y mugeres principales."

and masquerades, in which the chief persons of both sexes took a part. Between Antwerp and Bruges, about three leagues diverging from the road, stands the large town of Ghent, one of the most populous places in Christendom, consisting of above 40,000 houses. What pleased me most here was a painting in a chapel of the church of St. James, where, besides other excellent pictures, is that of Adam and Eve, so celebrated amongst Christians. It is more than one hundred years since it was finished, and it seems as if it would last for many ages. This castle is one of the most magnificent fortresses in the world, and it is believed will, when completed, surpass all others. There are in it four turrets of great strength and beauty, situated from each other at the distance of nine hundred feet. Hence some judgment may be formed of its extent. Not only the castle but also the town is entirely surrounded by water, and by wide and deep ditches. It may be encircled with water to a great distance at the pleasure of the inhabitants, by means of the rivers which flow by it, so that it may be esteemed one of the strongest places in the universe.

The Duke remained in Bruges until Tuesday, 29th of January, when he proceeded on his way to embark for England. He slept at Audenburg, at three leagues distance, a place of 500 houses; and on Wednesday [30th], travelled four leagues to Nieuport, a strongly fortified town of 1300 houses, having twice successfully sustained a siege from the French King.

Thursday [31st] he proceeded to Dunkirk, consisting of more than a 1000 houses, well fortified with ditches and walls: this place and Nieuport are sea-ports. On Friday, the 1st of February, he journeyed three leagues to Gravelinges, the last post in Flanders, and not so large as Dunkirk. Here is a strong castle and garrison, on account of its being situated on the frontier of the French and English territories. Saturday [2nd], the day of Our Lady's Purification, the Duke went three leagues to Calais, a place belonging to the King of England, and a sea-port, which once was subject to the Count of Flanders; where the King keeps a numerous garrison. This place is very strong, and guarded

with extreme vigilance, in so much that they allow no one to view its interior fortifications, and are accustomed to treat those persons roughly who survey the walls too curiously. This day we dined on meat in Gravelinges, and supped on fish in Calais, for in Flanders it is the usage to eat meat from the Nativity till the Purification of Our Lady. The Duke remained at this place Sunday [3d], and on Monday [4th] he embarked for Dover,^g which is six leagues distant by sea. It cannot be approached by land, on account of the insular situation of England. The whole of the day was consumed in this passage, which is both tedious and dangerous. The castle of Dover stands on a high rock; it was built by Julius Cæsar, and its ruinous state clearly demonstrates its antiquity. The town is of about 400 houses. Some of the Duke's people and horses remained in Calais, with some of his domestics. They embarked for Dover on the Wednesday [6th] following, but the weather was so bad that they were in danger of their lives. They arrived in the evening and disembarked with great difficulty. The next day, Thursday [7th], an English ship arrived at this port, laden with wheat, and having anchored, was forced by the violence of the wind on shore, and beaten to pieces. On Friday, the 8th February, the Duke advanced four leagues to the city of Canterbury,^h consisting of about 1500 houses. The principal church is one of the finest I have seen. In it are preserved the relics of the blessed St. Thomas, Archbishop of this city, which the present King of England, (influenced by a covetous desire of plundering the tomb, enriched with immense treasures placed there by the monarchs his predecessors,) caused to be removed, and, as it is affirmed, burnt, under the pretext that the people venerated as a Saint a man who had no pretensions to that title, or for other bad purposes, arising out of the false opinions he holds. Saturday, the 9th of February, proceeded seven leagues to the town of Rochester, of about 500 houses, near which flows a beautiful river. There is an elegant stone bridge, of eleven large arches, and on the top of the

^g Dobla.

^h Cantuaria.

parapet is on each side an iron railing. Sunday [10th] four leagues, to Dartford,ⁱ a place of 300 houses. Monday, the 11th of February, three leagues, to the City of London, and dined with Staçio Depucho, a native of Savoy, and Ambassador at this court. The King having heard of the Duke's arrival, went the next morning one league from London, to view some ships that were building, and sent from thence the Earl of Surrey,^k with other gentlemen, to visit and offer compliments on his part to the Duke. This absence of the King was for the purpose of gaining time to summon his nobles and gentlemen, that he might show himself to the Duke with greater authority. After four days the King returned to London, and sent a message to the Duke to present himself at the palace. On Sunday, the 17th of February, a brother of the Queen^l and the Earl of Surrey came to dine with the Duke, and accompany him to the King. After dinner the Duke proceeded to the palace, attended by those noblemen, and by some Spanish gentlemen who were resident in London. They embarked on the river to avoid the distance of half a league from the Duke's lodging to the palace, and landed at one of the gates. Before the Duke arrived at the King's chamber, he passed through three saloons, hung with tapestry;^m in the second of which were stationed in order on either side the King's body guard, dressed in habits of red, and holding halberds. In the third saloon were nobles, knights, and gentlemen, and here was a canopy made of rich figured brocade, with a chair of the same material. To this canopy and chair the same respect was paid by all as if the King himself were present; every one standing on foot, with his cap in his hand. Here the brother of the Queen and other noblemen entertained the Duke a quarter of an hour, until it was announced that he should enter the chamber of the King. Don Rodrigo de Mendoça and Tello de Guzman entered with him, and no one else, nor did they permit us even to see the King. I do not know the motive of this, unless it be according

ⁱ Derfort.

^k Sorel.—Thomas Howard, created Feb. 2, 1513-4.

^l William Lord Parr, of Kendal, created Earl of Essex, 23 Dec. 1543, and Marquess of Northampton, 16 Feb. 1545-6.

^m "Entapiçadas."

to a saying of the ancients, "that he whom many dread, must necessarily himself be subject to fear and distrust." I say this, because for many centuries there has never been Christian Prince nor infidel who has ordered so many executions as this King, as well of his immediate relations, as of gentlemen, clergy, and other persons, for having spoken against his proceedings, and against the opinions he maintains, that the Pope is only Bishop of Rome, that his power extends not beyond his bishopric, and that he cannot ordain bishops; yet, although a layman, he holds himself capable of ordaining them! Throughout his kingdom obedience to the Pope is forbidden, and he constitutes himself Head of the Church! The Duke remained with the King half an hour, and when he came forth he went with the above noblemen to the chamber of the Queen,ⁿ who was accompanied by the Princess Mary, daughter of the King and Queen Catherine, daughter of our good monarch Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabel. Many ladies attended the Queen, and amongst them a daughter of the Queen of Scotland,^o and another called the Queen of *Mongoça*.^p The Duke kissed the Queen's hand, by whom he was received in an animated manner. From thence they conducted the Duke to another apartment, where stood another canopy of brocade, with a chair of the same. The Queen entered with the Princesses and ladies, and having seated herself, she commanded the Duke to sit down, and musicians with violins^q were introduced. The Queen danced first with her brother, very gracefully; then the Princess Mary and the Princess of Scotland danced with other gentlemen, and many other ladies did the same. Among these gentlemen danced a Venetian of the King's household^r some *gallardas*, so lightly, that he appeared to have

ⁿ Catherine Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, married to the King, 12 July, 1543.

^o Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. who married first, James IV. of Scotland, and secondly, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.

^p Can this be Anne of Cleves?

^q "Viuelas darco."

^r This individual apparently is alluded to in the Privy Purse expenses of the Princess Mary, where is this item in Jan. 1543-4. "It'm geven to the Italian, the dauncer, bringing a partlet of gold wroughte, xls." p. 145.

wings in his feet. Never did I witness such agility in any man. After the dancing was finished (which lasted several hours) the Queen entered again into her chamber, having previously called one of the noblemen who spoke Spanish, to offer in her name some presents to the Duke, who again kissed her hand; and on his requesting the same favour of the Princess Mary, she would by no means permit it, but offered him her lips, and the Duke saluted her, and did the same to all the other ladies.

The King is said to be a man of great authority and beauty. The Queen has a lively and pleasing appearance, and is praised as a virtuous woman. She was dressed in a robe of cloth of gold, and a petticoat of brocade with sleeves lined with crimson satin, and trimmed with three-piled crimson velvet: her train was more than two yards long.^s Suspended from her neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds, and in her head-dress were many and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants. The Princess Mary has a pleasing countenance and person.^t It is said of her, that she is endowed with very great goodness and discretion, and among other praises I heard of her is this, that she knows how to conceal her acquirements; and certainly this is no small proof of prudence, since the real sage, who is aware of the extent of knowledge, thinks his own learning of too low an estimate to be boasted of, whilst those who have only a superficial acquaintance with learning exhibit just the contrary, as they pride themselves in proportion to their acquirements, and, without imparting their knowledge, allow no one to be learned but themselves. This Princess is so much beloved throughout the kingdom, that she is almost adored. The dress she wore was a petticoat of cloth of gold, and gown of violet-coloured three-piled velvet, with a headdress of many rich stones.^u All

^s "La Reyna tiene buen gesto y alegre, es alabada de virtuosa. Estaua vestita de vna delantera de tela di oro, y vna saya de brocardo, con mangas a forrada en raso carmesi, e la forra de las mangas de terçio pelo carmesi; la falda tenia mas de dos varas."

^t "La Infante Dona Maria tiene buen rostro y persona."

^u "Es tan amada en todo el Reyno esta Infante, q' no les falta sino adorarla. El vestido q' traya era saya de tela de oro, y vn ropon de terçio pelo morado; el tocado de muchas piedras ricas."

the other ladies were dressed in different silks, with splendid head-dresses.

The palace of the King is a fine building, and within it is a garden extremely well laid out, with high corridors, and walks on each of its four sides, and within them busts of men and women, children, birds, monsters, and other figures, both above and below. This city is one of the largest in Christendom, its extent being nearly a league. I did not see a house in London in which merchandise was not sold. It is reported to contain 250 parish churches, the chief of which is very large, since its length is 240 paces, and its width 35; and the transept 117 paces. The Castle is said to have been built by Julius Cæsar, and report adds, that from that period to the present, both here and in the castle at Dover, provision of salt and oil has lasted. This castle has four towers in a square, where the King keeps his treasure, which is reputed to be in great quantity; a thing not to be wondered at, since his own will fixes the rate of the taxes paid to him by his vassals. Many Englishmen assured us, that, under pretence of the war he was preparing against the King of France, he had required of his subjects the fourth part of their property, and that it was given to him!^v Near the castle we saw four lions, very large and fierce, and two leopards, confined within wooden railings. In another part of the city we saw seven bears, some of them of a great size. They are led out every day to an inclosure,^w where being tied with a long rope, large and intrepid dogs are thrown to them, in order that they may bite, and make them furious.^x It is no bad sport^y to see them fight, and the assaults they give each

^v The writer probably alludes to the subsidy of the sixth part of every man's goods attempted to be raised in 1524 by Commission, but which project failed.

^w At Paris Garden on the Bankside, Southwark, where these amusements at that period usually took place. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 192, 4to, Lond. 1801.

^x "Donde los atan largo, y les hechan grandes y denodados perros, para q' se çeuen en ellos y se hagan brabos y fieros."

^y Compare with this the famous passage in Laneham's Letter from Kenilworth, describing a similar scene; "It was a sport very pleazaunt," &c. This practice of baiting bears continued down to the reign of Queen Anne.

other. To each of the large bears are matched three or four dogs, which sometimes get the better, and sometimes are worsted, for besides the fierceness and great strength of the bears to defend themselves with their teeth, they hug the dogs with their paws so tightly, that, unless the masters came to assist them, they would be strangled by such soft embraces. Into the same place they brought a pony^y with an ape fastened on its back, and to see the animal kicking amongst the dogs, with the screams of the ape, beholding the curs hanging from the ears and neck of the pony, is very laughable.^z A river runs through London, one of the largest I have ever seen. It is not possible, in my opinion, that a more beautiful river should exist in the world, for the city stands on each side of it, and innumerable boats, vessels, and other craft are seen moving on the stream. The sea is not far off, and every day tide ascends and descends the distance of more than fifteen leagues. The bridge on this river is the finest I ever beheld, or heard of, nor do I believe its equal is to be found. It crosses from one part of the city to the other, which is divided by the water. There are twenty wide arches,^a and the whole of the bridge (which is of great length) forms a beautiful street, with houses of tradesmen built on either side of it. Never did I see a river so thickly covered with swans^b as this.

The Duke stayed in London eight days, and left it on Tuesday, the 19th of February, when he proceeded three leagues to *Unselo*.^c Wed-

y The same mode of diverting the populace is mentioned by Holinshed, in his account of the entertainment of the Danish Ambassador at Greenwich, in 1586, vol. iii. col. 1562, ed. 1587.

z "En el mismo lugar sacan vna haca con vna mona atada en çima, veran andar la haca a çoçes tras los perros, y los gritos q' da la mona, viendo los perros cabesi colgados de los orejas y pescueço de la haca, es cosa de risa."

a In reality there were only nineteen arches, the twentieth, so called, being a sluice, or draw-bridge. See the amusing and elegant volume intituled, "Chronicles of London Bridge," p. 324.

b In the same manner writes Paulus Jovius, in his description of Britain, 1548. "*Olores autem agminatim lato occurso et festivis cantibus subeuntes classes excipiunt.*"

c Hounslow.

nesday [20th], four leagues and a half to *Forbrichi*.^d Thursday [21st], five and a half to *Basingqueston*,^e a place of 800 houses. Friday [22d], five leagues to Andover, a town of 500 houses. Saturday [23d], five more to the city of Salisbury, of 2000 houses. The principal church of this place is very beautiful, and in length is 180 paces, in breadth 31, and the transept 77. It consists of three aisles, and it is said there are as many pillars in it as there are days in the year, which I can easily believe, since they are so numerous and so delicately formed, that it appears impossible to count them. From the ground to the roof of the church are three ranges of columns, and each column is surrounded by many others. The church is very well lighted, and so graceful, that I never saw any to surpass it. One thing most worthy of notice is, that in the middle of the edifice, supported by four large pillars, stands a grand and lofty tower (spire). On Sunday [24th], the Duke travelled six leagues to *Jatisberi*,^f a place of 600 houses. Monday [25th], four leagues to *Gilboru*,^g of 400. On Shrove Tuesday [26th], six leagues to *Charro*,^h of 200. Wednesday, the first day of Lent, 27th of February, he journeyed four leagues to *Uniton*,ⁱ of 300. Thursday [28th], four leagues, to the city of Exeter, of more than 2000 houses. We here saw a singular church, of the size of that at Salisbury, with the most elegant arches I ever beheld, and two towers, of equal size, sufficiently handsome and well built. Friday [29th], went six leagues to *Asporton*,^k of 200 inhabitants. Saturday, 1st of March, seven leagues to Plymouth,^l a place of 300 houses, and a sea-port.

Whilst the Duke was at Plymouth, awaiting the arrival of the three Biscayan ships he had engaged at London for his embarkation, news came that the largest of them, having preceded the others, struck on a rock, on Shrove Tuesday about midnight, off the headland of the Isle of Dogs,^m and went to pieces. Of sixty-five men who were in her, thirty-three perished, and amongst them the pilot, Antonio de Larrea.

^d Hartford Bridge.^e Basingstoke.^f Shaftesbury.^g Sherborn?^h Chard.ⁱ Honiton.^k Ashburton.^l Plemua.^m La Isla Duque.

There was also lost in her a great cargo belonging to Spanish traders, sent out from London to Spain, and some things the Duke had ordered to be put on board. All the domestics of his suite suffered loss, since they had exported in her silks and clothes which they had purchased in London for their wardrobe, and barrelsⁿ of tin (?) for their houses. The ship belonged to Diego Dedo, an inhabitant of Castro. On St. Andrew's day [30th Nov.] also last passed, three ships were lost off the Goodwin^o Sands, in which were some servants of the Duke who carried horses and various things sent to the Duchess. The people were saved, but every thing else perished, so that not so much as a card was saved.

The other two ships which had tarried at London arrived at Plymouth on Thursday, 27th of March. The next day, Friday, the 28th, the Duke embarked at night, with all his suite. We set sail on Saturday [29th], in company with an English vessel, and a Portuguese carvel. During the day the wind proved fair, but became foul towards the evening, so that all the night we were unable to make any progress, but rather were forced backwards. The following day it pleased God to send us a fair wind, which continued till our arrival in Spain. Some days we were becalmed, but the weather was mild, and the sea unruffled, so that we looked upon our voyage (which lasted eight days) as a fortunate and prosperous one. By the blessing of God we arrived half a league from Laredo, on Palm Sunday, the 5th of April, in the year 1544, and disembarked in the port of Santona. For which let infinite thanks and praises be given to our Lord, for ever and ever. Amen.

ⁿ "Baxillos de staño."

^o La Godina.

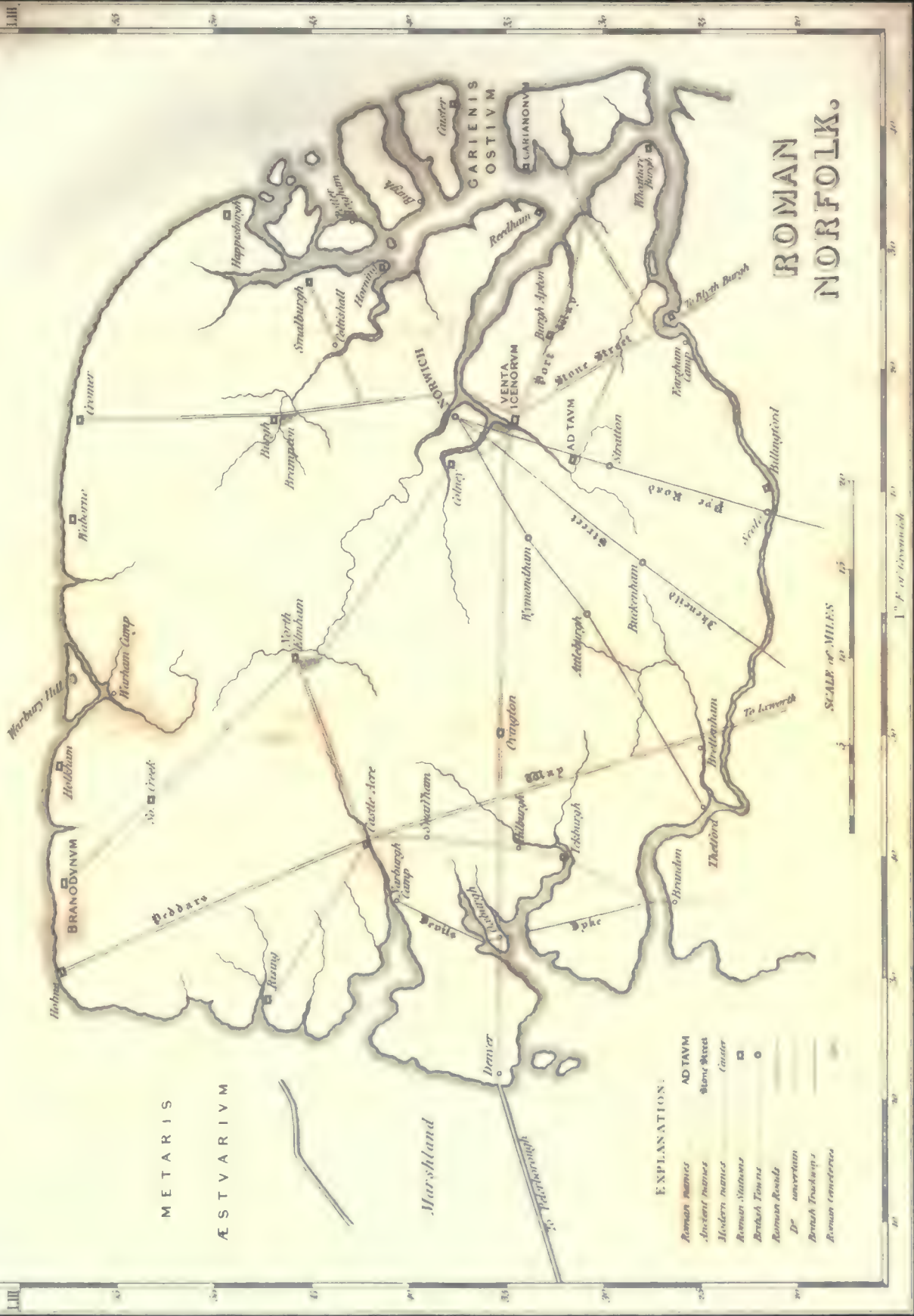
XXIV. *A descriptive Outline of the Roman Remains in Norfolk, by SAMUEL WOODWARD, Esq., in a Letter to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. V.P., F.R.S. accompanied by a Map of the County.*

Read 23d December, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING done me the honour of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries in March 1824, a rough draft of a Map of Roman Norfolk, with other Plans which related to Norwich, I now beg leave to transmit to the Society through you a more finished Map,^a accompanied by a descriptive Outline of the Roman Remains in that county: and in so doing I cannot but suggest, that if others, conversant with antiquarian pursuits, would construct similar Maps of other counties of Great Britain, the whole might form the basis of a Map of Roman Britain, which is much wanted. The advantages resulting, would, I am convinced, fully compensate the labour; much light would be thrown upon the works of Gale, Horsley, Reynolds, and other learned Antiquaries, who have written on the Itinerary of Antoninus; and the early history of this country be placed in a much clearer point of view than it has hitherto been. The accurate Surveys which have been taken of every County have removed the obstacles which before impeded such an attempt; and these, combined with the geological researches which have of late years been made, particularly in our maritime counties, afford sure data for such an undertaking.

^a Plate XXXI.



ROMAN NORFOLK.

SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15 20

1" = 1 F. of Greenwich

- EXPLANATION.**
- Roman names
 - A.D. names
 - Modern names
 - Roman stations
 - British towns
 - Roman Roads
 - De. univertum
 - British Townships
 - Roman Cemeteries

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A work of this nature would seem to come peculiarly within the province of the Society of Antiquaries, I therefore beg leave to submit to them the progress I have made as far as relates to Norfolk,

and remain, dear Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

SAMUEL WOODWARD.

A DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE OF THE ROMAN REMAINS IN NORFOLK.

Previously to the arrival of the Roman armies in Britain, the County of Norfolk formed the northern part of the country of the Iceni. At that period the tidal waters, unrestricted by the works of man, and uninterrupted by the geological changes which have since taken place, spread themselves over a large portion of its borders; the waters also of the Ouse and Waveney, its southern boundary, formed it into a complete Island. In eastern Norfolk, the *Garienis Ostium* of Ptolemy, once insulating the hundreds of East and West Flegg and Lothingland, is now reduced to small streams, kept in a navigable state by art. In western Norfolk, the *Metaris Æstuarium* of the same geographer is reduced to pasture and arable land, leaving an evidence of its former existence in the names of several villages on its borders; as Hilg-ay, Souther-ey, Thorn-ey, &c. they having formerly been situated on isolated spots.

The portion of Anglo-Roman History relating to Norfolk, according to Suetonius as cited by Ives,^b commences with the reign of Claudius,

^b *Garianonum*, p. 19.

“ who, ambitious of following the steps of Julius, formed the design of completing what Cæsar had begun, and of reducing Britain to a Roman Province: in pursuance of which, he arrived here about the year of Christ 45, having previously sent Aulus Plautius with troops sufficient to effect his intention. The Emperor's stay was about six months; Plautius remained here near four years, and carried on the Britannic war with spirit and success. Next in command was the Pro-Prætor, Publius Ostorius Scapula, an experienced officer, in whom conduct and courage were equally united. To him the Romans were indebted for the subjection of the Iceni; to him they were obliged for the retention of their conquests; and to him we owe the founding of Gariannonum.”

We learn from the *Notitia Imperii*, that the country of the Iceni, together with a considerable line of coast, was under the government of the Count of the Saxon Shore; under whom, in Norfolk, we find the commander of the Dalmatian horse, stiled *Branodunensis*, at Brancaster; and the commander of the Stablesian horse, stiled *Garianonensis*, at Burgh Castle.^c

From the proximity of this County to the Islands of Denmark, the abode of the Vikingr, or Sea Kings, it was continually subject to their attacks; and along its coast we trace a line of Forts calculated to meet such descents. These forts are situate on high ground near the beach; and within such distance of each other, as to be enabled, on the appearance of an enemy, to give notice by signal to the whole line, and probably to the stations in the interior.

Rising Castle was probably the site of the first of these Forts, on the western side of the county; it stands at the head of what was once an extensive bay, which is now only a marsh. The Roman *Castrum* is a long square, parallel with the coast, exceeding in length the usual form of such works; as its dimensions are about 300 yards by 140: this is intersected by the fosse and vallum of the Norman castrametation, re-

^c Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* p. 476.

ducing it to the appearance of outworks to the latter; within which stands a very perfect specimen of Norman architecture, resembling in style the castle at Norwich, but of a later period. No trace or tradition remains of any Roman road communicating with this place; but there is reason to suppose that the sea-bank, on the present margin of the Wash, which is attributed to the Romans, was constructed as a medium of communication between this place and the midland districts.

About twelve miles north of Castle Rising, at the little village of Holme, on the coast, is the termination of the Peddar's-Way; at this place there must consequently have been some kind of Fort or Station; but from the continued ravages of the sea the probability is that its site has been covered by the waters.

Following the contour of the coast, about five miles east of this place, is Brancaster, the Branodunum, where was stationed the Dalmatian horse: the camp is situate about a quarter of a mile east of the village, and is a parallelogram, having its greatest length from east to west, and containing within its area about eight acres: it is nearly obliterated by the plough, and at the present day is called the Wreck-hills.

A great number of urns, coins, and other antiquities, have, from time to time, been found here; and last year a gold ring was hoed up, having a projecting part used probably as a signet, upon which are engraved two rude heads, and above them *VIVAS*, beneath *IN DEO*.

Four miles further on the coast, opposite Holkham, are the remains of another camp of smaller dimensions; it is situate upon the beach, near the "Rabbit Farm," and about three-fourths of a mile from the church, which stands upon the remains of a Danish fort.

The next place on the coast is "Warbury Hill," which, in Faden's Map of the County, is named as a Roman camp: it has a commanding appearance, and is seen for a long distance. On examination no trace of a camp is observable; on the north side are the remains of a tumulus twenty paces across; it is concave in the middle, and the ditch surrounding it is about six feet in depth. About one mile and a half from this place, in a south-west direction, is a Danish fortress called "Barrow

Hill Camp;" it is situate in the parish of Warham, on the east side of the river, and surrounded by two deep ditches, except on the west side, where the outer ditch merges into the valley, and was probably filled with water when the river was at a higher level; the area of the inner ballium contains about three acres, and is planted over. On the north side was a plantation called Sweno's Wood, and the meadow on the west side is said to be named in old writings Sweno's Meadow. One mile west of this, was another circular camp, which is now levelled and formed into a plantation.

From Warbury-hill to Weybourne the distance is nine miles and a half, where, "at a place called Wayborn Hope," Blomefield^d says, "was a fortification; the shore is stony, and the sea so deep that ships may ride here and lie against it: the Danes are said to have landed here in their invasions." Upon this evidence it may, with every appearance of probability, be regarded as the locality of a Roman fort: the powerful abrasion of the waters of the German Ocean, which for ages have been acting on the cliffs of this part of the coast, precludes the possibility of determining its precise site.

The line of coast from Weybourne to Happisburgh, consisting of cliffs of blue clay, has been so much altered since this period, that the two following stations or forts are merely conjectural. The first must be placed near Cromer, seven miles distant from Weybourne, as lying in the direction of the Roman road from Venta Icenorum through Frettenham, Brampton, Burgh, Tuttington, &c. The second, from its name Happisburgh, may perhaps have a greater claim: this village is situate about twelve miles from Cromer; but the site of the Roman fort, if ever there was one in this vicinage, may now be a mile out at sea, the cliffs decreasing at the rate of about three feet per annum. It has been asserted that a Roman road is to be traced from this place to Smallburgh, crossing the Ant at Wayford Bridge; the remains of ancient causeways, however, are so common in this part of the county, con-

^d Norfolk, vol. iv. p. 967.

necting the isolated spots, that such a supposition is too hypothetical to be depended upon.

Fifteen miles hence is Caister, the Garianonum of Sir Henry Spelman, of which station, even in Blomefield's time, "nought but tradition remained," excepting that some coins and fragments of urns had been found in a field, called the East Bloody-Burgh furlong, the site of which is now lost. Ives, in his Garianonum,^e says, "the site of the Roman camp at Caister is supposed to have been near the present parish church, coins having been found in the adjoining field:" he considers it to have been a summer camp belonging to Garianonum, which he places at Burgh Castle.

The opinions of Spelman and Blomefield cannot for a moment be entertained on viewing the venerable and nearly perfect remains of Burgh Castle:^f this castrum is situate five miles and a half in a direct line from Caister, on the edge of the table-land, overlooking the intervening marshes, which are perfectly level, and over which flowed the Garienis Ostium. The Camp is a parallelogram, containing within its area four acres, two roods; and, like several other Roman fortresses, it is imperfect next the marshes, there being no wall on that side; nor was it in this instance necessary, as it must have been sufficiently defended by the waters of the Hierus. Richborough Castrum, which this place strongly resembles, both as to situation and structure, was most probably defended in the same way. The eastern or principal wall, in which is placed the Prætorian Gate, is 214 yards long, and the lateral walls half that length: they are faced with cut flint between horizontal layers of bricks, and are about fourteen feet in height. Four buttresses or towers are attached to the east wall, one to the north, and a corresponding one was attached to the south wall, but it has for many years been thrown down. The facing of these towers corresponds with that of the walls; they were evidently a subsequent erection, being disunited half way up,

^e Page 19.

^f This Station is in the County of Suffolk. It would be needless to apologise for its introduction here, as its natural connection with the subject of the present Outline renders the notice of it imperative.

and the remaining part grafted in the original work. Ives says,^g "they were probably not built till the garrison had erected their summer camp at Caister, from whence signals placed upon them could easily be discovered." Each tower has a hole in the midst of its upper surface two feet deep and as much wide, which our author presumes^h "was designed for the erection of standards and signals, and for the admission of light temporary watch towers, under the care and for the use of the *Speculatores*." A great number of coins of the lower empire have been found in the area of the Camp, and in the field on its east side, which appears to have been its cemetery, as vast quantities of fragments of urns have been collected in it, and are still to be found in the soil. From the *Notitia* we learn that this camp was occupied by the *Stablesian* horse, under the command of a *Præpositus*, but what their numbers were, or to what legion they belonged, is now unknown.

There are other points of this *Æstuary* which retain marks of Roman occupation, and were probably naval stations belonging to *Garianonum*. The first of these is Reedham, rendered famous by the story of Lothbroc, the Danish chieftain: the spot occupied appears to have been on the high ground a little east of the "Low Street," where, within a foot of the surface, coins, mostly of Marcus Aurelius, Trajan, &c. a bronze lion's head, and fragments of pottery, have been found; the foundation also of a *Pharos*, or watch tower, on the same spot, was some years ago laid open. Opposite the southern entrance of the *Æstuary* is Wheatacre Burgh; which, from its situation and having a natural cliff under which their vessels could be moored with safety, may with propriety be considered as one of this kind of Stations. Roman coins are said to have been found here; but at the present day not the least trace or vestige of Roman occupation remains. Burgh in Flegg, from its name and situation, was most probably occupied for a similar purpose. At Horning, a long line of earth-work is carried across a neck of land, isolating the eastern part of the parish; and, although antiquities of that period have not to our knowledge been discovered, yet it is a received opinion that it was once occupied by the Romans. A few miles up the

^g *Garianonum*, p. 29.

^h *Ibid.* p. 24.

valley is Coltishall, at which place Roman remains have been found in abundance, consisting of large quantities of fragments of pottery, fibulæ, and coins: and lately a vase of red unglazed earth, together with a portion of the upper part of a large amphora, were disintered. These three last places we consider to have been points in the navigation of the Bure connecting Burgh by Aylsham with Garianonum.ⁱ

Having described the forts or stations on the coast, with their appendages, the internal state of the County, commencing with Venta Icenorum, comes next to be considered. Some difficulty was formerly experienced in determining the situation of the Roman capital of the Iceni. Blomefield was for placing it at North Elmham, and Spelman hints that it may have been at Burgh-Apton;^j it is now by universal consent fixed at Caister, three miles south of Norwich. This castrum is situate on the east bank of the Tese, now only a brook; its form is quadrilateral, having the angles rounded, and the west side somewhat projected, in the midst of which was the Decuman Gate; opposite to this, on the east side, was the Prætorian Gate, and in the midst of the north and south sides were two other gates. By the side of the river, a little north of the Decuman Gate, is the remain of a buttress or tower, and on the north side near the north east angle of the wall, was another, agreeing in form with those at Garianonum, the base of which was twelve feet thick; it was composed entirely of flint, and, to our regret, it has lately been demolished as material to repair the roads. The walls, which are twelve feet thick, are now level with the vallum, except on the north side, where some traces of it remain; a small portion exhibits the external face, which is composed of alternate layers of faced flints and bricks as at Burgh Castle. The fosse remains very perfect on the east side; on the south side it appears to have been filled up; on the north side, the land being much lower, it is most probable that there was no ditch; as well as on the west side, where the vallum slopes down to the river. The length of the east side is 1120 feet, and of the north and

ⁱ *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 422.

^j *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*, p. 156.

south sides 1349 feet, containing within its walls about thirty-five acres; which dimensions show it to be superior to any other Roman Castrum in this part of England. Great numbers of coins have been found in and about this place, and in 1823 a gold thumb-ring was found in the adjoining parish, inscribed *CONSTANTINVS*, and figured in the XXIst volume of the *Archæologia*.^k The cemetery lies north west of the camp on the other side of the river, in the parish of Merkshall, where immense numbers of urns in fine preservation have from time to time been dug up: in 1815 a kiln for baking these urns was discovered by Charles Layton, Esquire, who communicated some particulars respecting it to the Society, which are published in the XXIIId Volume of the *Archæologia*.^l From the size of this Castrum, its central situation, and the remains of roads diverging from it as from a centre, there can be no hesitation in pronouncing it the *Venta Icenorum*.

After a lapse of 1400 years, and so general a cultivation of the surface of the country, few traces of Roman roads can be expected to remain; some there are most decidedly, and it is hoped that those supplied from conjecture, are not introduced upon slight grounds.

There must undoubtedly have been a communication between *Venta Icenorum* and *Garianonum*; in confirmation of which Gough, in his Introduction to Camden's *Britannia*, p. lxxv, notices among the chemini minores, "the Port-way, from Hadiscoe to Raveningham." This probably ran through Burgh-Apton to St. Olave's Bridge; the former place is alluded to by Spelman in his *Iceni*,^m as being a Roman occupation, and the latter there is reason to believe was an ancient ford; to the north of this, within three and a half miles, is *Garianonum*. From this ford it is probable that a road passed to the ford at Bungay, as we find in this line a lane called the Peddar's Lane, which may have derived its appellation from the same source as the Way so called in western Norfolk.

The road called Stone Street, running in a south-west direction to-

^k Page 547.

^l Page 412.

^m Page 156.

wards Bungay, is the same, probably, as that noticed in the Itinerary of Antoninus;ⁿ it crosses Bungay Common, and from thence passes in a direct line through Stone Street and Blythburgh to Dunwich, where must be placed the Sitomagus of Antoninus. Upon Bungay Common remains of a Roman post of a quadrangular form are still visible, the sides, three of which only remain, are one hundred yards long; the fourth, or eastern side, was probably defended by the slope of the valley as at Garianonum. The hills on the Norfolk side of this common form an amphitheatre, and are called the Bath-House Hills. On the summit of those on the east side, was ploughed up, in 1812, a pot of the Roman coins called Minimi, several hundred in number, among which were those of Julius Cæsar, Caligula, and various other Emperors, most of them in fair preservation. Coins of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, Faustina, &c. in large brass, have been found in and near the town. Half a mile west of Bungay, on the banks of the Waveney, is a Danish encampment, within which is situate Earsham church.

ⁿ When the Map which illustrates this Paper was, with others relating to Norwich, exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1824, it was accompanied with the following view of the IX Iter, exhibiting the plans assigned to the stations named in that Iter, by Horsley and Reynolds; to which is added another view of the line of road, the merits of which we should be glad to have investigated.

ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS.

Journey the 9th, from Venta Icenorum to London.

ANTONINVS.		HORSLEY.		REYNOLDS.		THE AUTHOR.	
Venta Icenorum to		Norwich to		Caister to		Caister to	
Sitomagus ..	31	Woolpit ..	35	Stowmarket ..	35	Dunwich ..	32
Combretonium	22	Stratford ..	20	Stratford ..	17	<i>near</i> Woodbridge	18
Ad Ansam ..	15	Witham ..	23	Toleshurst Knights	16	Stratford ..	18
Camalodonum	6	Maldon ..	6	Maldon ..	5	Colchester ..	6
Canonis ..	9	Fambridge ..	8	Canewdon ..	9	Witham ..	14
Cæsaromagus	12	Chelmsford ..	12	Widford ..	14	Chelmsford ..	8
Durolito ..	16	Leiton ..	24	Rumford ..	15	<i>near</i> Rumford	16
Londinum ..	15	London ..	5	London ..	11	London ..	14
	126		133		122		126

The three following roads appear to have proceeded from Norwich, which was probably occupied by the aboriginal inhabitants. The first, called the Pye Road, runs nearly in a southerly direction to Ad Taum, or Tasburgh. This was originally a British fortress, and is situate on the same branch of the Hierus as Venta Icenorum. The remains of this station are a square intrenchment, containing twenty-four acres, within which stands the parish church. The road is considered to have been a British track-way adopted by the Romans; it led through Stratton and Scole to Eye in Suffolk.^o Remains of a Roman road existed some years ago in the parish of Hempnall, lying between Ad Taum and Bungay, which places it most probably connected.

The Ikenield Street, also considered to have been a British track-way, passes through Buckenham to Ixworth and Bury St. Edmund's.

The Newmarket post road, passing as it does through Wymondham and Attleburgh to Thetford, the Sitomagus of Camden and Blomefield, must be of great antiquity, and consequently has a claim upon attention; there is nothing, however, in its course, to warrant its being considered a Roman road; it was undoubtedly a British track-way communication with the British town Attleburgh. What Blomefield has adduced in favour of Thetford being the Sitomagus, can scarcely be deemed of sufficient weight; the mount with its circumvallation, or the "Castle Hills," as they are locally called, are decidedly Danish.

Having described the roads passing in a southerly direction from Venta Icenorum, attention must now be directed to those which ran towards the west. There can be no doubt but that a road existed communicating with that mentioned by Dugdale as crossing the Metaris

^o An opinion is entertained that a road once existed running parallel with the present post road between Tasburgh and Scole, but more towards the east, and was the principal Roman road from Venta Icenorum, passing through Eye towards Ipswich. Of this road no trace exists in Norfolk; but there are remains of a Roman occupation in the parish of Billingford, in this line, where numerous antiquities, including urns, have been discovered. On the Suffolk side of the river in the parishes of Oakley, Broome, Hoxne, and Eye, these remains are particularly abundant.

Æstuarium ; but at the present day no such indications as mark those just described appear. Traces of a corresponding road have been noticed at Hetherset in dry seasons, on a farm called Plainards ; it has also been traced further west, in the parish of Saham : in removing Saham wood some years ago, three pigs of Roman lead were discovered, and sold to the village plumber. In the adjoining parish of Ovington traces of a Roman encampment exist, from which place we conceive this western road to have passed to Oxburgh, which Blomefield presumed to be the *Iciani* of Antoninus ; Roman coins have been found here, and here also are several tumuli, and those singular depressions in the surface of the ground called the Danes' graves. Eight miles west of Oxburgh is the commencement of the Roman road across the *Æstuary*, described by Sir William Dugdale,^p who says it was in length about twenty-four miles, passing through Charke (now called Creek), March, Plantwater, and Eldernell (near Whittlesey), and so to Peterborough. Near this line of road are four villages whose names terminate with burgh, as Bawburgh, Aldburgh, Southburgh, and Whinburgh.

We are indebted to the Rev. William Gibson for the notice of another road,^q running towards the north-west, and terminating at Brancaster ; he suggests the probability of Colney being the first of a chain of posts connecting Branodunum with Venta Icenorum, passing through North Elmham and South Creake ; the latter place, he says, " may bear more the appearance of a Saxon or a Danish than a Roman work, yet, as Roman antiquities are found there also, the spot might have been previously occupied by the Romans." The station at Elmham is in tolerable preservation, and lies a short distance north of the church : it consists of a vallum and fosse in the form of a parallelogram, measuring 110 yards by 140 ; at the north-west angle is a mount similar to those at Burgh Castle and Pevensey, although on a smaller scale. About one fourth of the area of the camp, at the south-west angle, is occupied by the ruins of the palace of the Bishops of East Anglia. Very few re-

^p Hist. of Embankment, p. 176.

^q *Archæologia*, vol. XIV. p. 5.

mains have been discovered on this site; but about a mile and a half south of the castrum, on the road to Dereham, in a field called "Broom Close," in Blomefield's time,^r a great number of urns had been dug up, together with many curious antiquities, and coins innumerable. This place is now called the Pot Close; and from the number of urns that have from time to time been discovered here, it must have been the cemetery of the camp at Elmham.

Mr. Gibson, in the Paper before referred to, suggests the probability of a road passing from Elmham to Castle Acre, and from thence to Castle Rising, which, if correct, would complete their communication with the Stations of western Norfolk.

Numerous tumuli existed on the line of road just described, many of which still remain; in the parish of Keswick urns have been discovered in three different spots, although no mounds marked their localities. On the opposite side of the valley on Eaton Heath are four tumuli, two of which have been nearly levelled by the plough. In the adjoining parish of Cringleford there is another; and on Morton Common, midway between Colney and Elmham, are nine or ten, several of which are perfect. Several also exist on this line, north of Elmham.

The Peddar's Way is the most perfect remain of any of the roads in Norfolk supposed to be Roman. It traverses the county in a direct line from the coast to Brettenham, a distance of forty miles over an almost level surface; in its progress crossing only two inconsiderable branches of the river Stoke and the valley of the Nar at Castle Acre. It commences on the coast at Holme, and passes through the parishes of Ringstead, Fring, and Anmer to Castle Acre. At Fring, some years since, some labourers, in ditching, broke up the remains of a pavement apparently Roman, which was unfortunately nearly destroyed by the parties who discovered it. The most perfect part of this road lies between Anmer and Houghton; it approaches Castle Acre in a line with the eastern vallum of the castrum.

^r Norfolk, vol. V. p. 998.

The camp at Castle Acre is quadrilateral; it is situate on the north slope of the valley of the Nar, surrounded by a lofty vallum and a deep ditch, which are seen in a nearly perfect state on its western side: the vallum is constructed of hard chalk and grouting; but there is no appearance of its ever having been surmounted by a wall, as at Caister. The east side of the camp appears to have been so altered by its Norman occupants, that its original character on that side is nearly obliterated. The area is in great part built upon, and a street intersects it from north to south, called "Baley Street;" at the north end of which, in a line with the vallum, is a gateway, most probably of the Norman period, constructed with flints. The area, according to a survey made by the late Rev. Mr. Thorn,^s contained (exclusive of the street) 12 acres, 3 roods. Roman coins of Vespasian, Constantine, Faustina, &c. have been found here; also a cornelian signet, the impress an Emperor's head, which was in the possession of Mr. Thorn. There is no trace of any contiguous cemetery belonging to the castrum; but about one mile east, on the slope of Winchester hills, urns of British workmanship were discovered in 1828, one of which was presented to the Norfolk and Norwich Museum by Mr. Goddard Johnson. The Peddar's Way passed Swaffham about one mile east of that town, and is tolerably distinct from the west side of Merton Hall to Brettenham, the Combutionium of Blomefield,^t who says, that urns and coins have been found there; the road from thence passes to Ixworth.

Between Castle Acre and Brandon lies Ickburgh, the Iiciani of Dr. Gale; the road on the north side of this place has an appearance of antiquity, it passes through Hilburgh and Swaffham to Castle Acre. South of Ickburgh at Linford, several Roman urns have been dug up, and near this place, Blomefield says, there was a large *milliare*: this southern road appears to have passed through Brandon to Bury.

At Narburgh, five miles west of Castle Acre, are the remains of a Danish camp, consisting of a circular vallum and fosse, which are tole-

^s MS. Papers.

^t Norfolk, vol. I. p. 298.

rably perfect. The vallum measures above thirty feet in height on the outside, and, within, ten feet; the area contains four acres and a half, and is now planted over. From this camp proceeded an ancient way, called the Devil's Dyke, passing in a southerly direction through Oxburgh to Brandon.

Remains of a road running north from Venta Icenorum, and communicating with the line of forts on the coast, may be traced on Frettenham Common, from which place to Burgh by Bampton it assumes the narrow and straight form, indicating its Roman origin; from Bampton it crosses the Bure at Oxnead Bridge, and passes through the parish of Tuttington and along Stow Heath, extending, it may be presumed, to the sea coast, at or near Cromer.

On this line, from Frettenham Common to Stow Heath, Tumuli particularly abound; at the former place there were several a few years ago, one only of which remains. On Buxton Common a barrow was opened by the Rev. Henry Crowe,^u which from its contents appeared to have been British. The great barrow on Stow Heath was opened by J. A. Repton, Esq.,^x who found in it an urn of singular shape, placed in an inverted position, considerably distant from the centre of the mound. This barrow is thirty yards in diameter and about four yards high; it is surrounded by several of a smaller size, of about twenty yards in diameter.

On Tuttington Common are a few barrows of twenty yards in diameter, and two of twelve yards only; all of which were opened by Mr. Repton, who found nothing to reward his labours but a few burnt bones. Bampton field has long since been exhausted of the Roman remains with which it abounded when Sir Thomas Browne wrote his *Hydrotaphia*; so much so, that fragments of Roman pottery are now rarely to be met with.

The probability of a road having passed from Frettenham Common to Happisburgh has been before adverted to. A little to the south of

^u *Archæologia*, vol. XIII. p. 404.

^x *Ibid.* vol. XVI. p. 354.

Wayford Bridge, on this line, is a field called Chapel Field, in which a great number of urns have been found, made of blue clay and formed in a lathe. The spot is a head-land projecting into the valley; and has its name from a chapel formerly existing there, of which the foundations only remain.

In conclusion; on reviewing the remains of Roman occupation in Norfolk, they appear to have been decidedly military; confirming the account in the *Notitia*, of its being placed under the government of the Count of the Saxon Shore. We here find no remains of villas, baths, pavements, or other vestiges indicating either art or luxury in the arrangements of domestic life; on the contrary, we discover only remains of their *Castra* and the ashes of their dead: the latter have been abundantly found in the three great cemeteries at Brampton, Caister, and Elmham. Their pottery appears to have been principally of blue clay, from a manufactory presumed to have been carried on at Potter Heigham; here vast quantities of fragments have from time to time been ploughed up, and, on the inclosure of the waste land, it was discovered that large heaps, hitherto neglected, consisted entirely of potsherds: large mounds of wood-ashes were also levelled, which had covered an extent of several acres, supposed to have been made in heating the furnaces. On the departure of the Romans from this county, it is probable that these works were continued; we cannot by any other supposition account for the wide distribution of this kind of ware, as there is scarce a point of land projecting into our vallies in which fragments of it may not be discovered.

XXV. *Description of the Matrix of the Seal of Southwick Priory, in Hampshire; in a Letter to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S., Treasurer, from FREDERIC MADDEN, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read 24th March, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, March 21, 1831.

I BEG leave to submit to the attention of the Society impressions in wax of the singular and beautiful Seal of Southwick Priory, in Hampshire, to which I am happy to be enabled to add, by permission of the owner, John Bonham Carter, Esq. M. P. the original Matrix from which the impressions were taken. It is presumed with some confidence, that this Matrix is the only specimen in existence of a very peculiar and artificial mode of forming ancient conventual Seals, nor have my researches enabled me to discover any similar instance of a seal so made, except that of the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury.^a It is much to be regretted, that the few writers who have endeavoured to illustrate the use of ancient English Seals, should have chiefly directed their attention to the antiquity of the practice, or to the explanation of the figures, badges, or bearings of the Seals themselves, but afford us but little, if any, information concerning the mode of preparing the wax, taking the impressions, affixing the seals to the deeds, or even of the forms and material of the matrices. In short, whatever is known of the theoretical, we are as yet almost ignorant of the practical use of sigillation adopted by our ancestors. The only distinct treatise on the subject I am acquainted with, is a thin quarto pamphlet, written by the

^a Cott. Chart. xxi. 11.

Rev. John Lewis, in 1740, and entitled "Dissertation on the use and antiquity of Seals in England;" a very meagre and jejune performance; and if I add to this the Papers of the Rev. Dr. Pegge and Mr. H. Ellis in vols. V. and XVIII. of the *Archæologia*, and some observations of Mr. Dallaway, in his "Inquiries into the Origin of Heraldry," 4to, 1793, I believe I shall have mentioned nearly every thing of moment touching the ancient usage of Seals.^a It is far from being in my power to supply the deficiency; but perhaps the curious facts exhibited in the peculiar construction of the Southwick Seal may lead some one who has more leisure, and is better versed in the subject than myself, to pursue the inquiry.

The Matrix which I have the honour to lay before the Society is of brass, of a circular form, and about nine inches and a half in circumference, and exhibits the appearance represented in the annexed drawing.^b It consists of three distinct pieces (*a. b. c.*), of nearly equal diameter, but varying in thickness and weight, the lower piece weighing 1 lb. 1 oz. the centre $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and the top $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz. or all together 2 lb. 7 oz. Each of these pieces has two roundels or ears placed opposite to each other, without the extreme circle of the Seal, in the two lower of which are firmly inserted iron pins, of about two inches length, and as thick as a common tobacco-pipe. These pins, by means of holes pierced in the ears of the centre and top pieces, pass through them, and serve to keep the whole compact and even, so as to ensure the exactness of the impression. To prevent also the possibility of error in the adjustment of the several parts, a small cross is engraven on the top ear of each, thereby indicating the position in which they are to be placed.

To those who are unacquainted with the structure of this Matrix, the use of the centre piece, and of the figures engraven on either side, will appear wholly inexplicable, nor would the difficulty perhaps ever have

^a Two Dissertations in MS. on this subject are said to have been written by Francis Tate, in the reign of Elizabeth; probably of the same trifling nature as the remarks of his contemporary, Arthur Agarde, preserved in Hearne's "Collection of Curious Discourses."

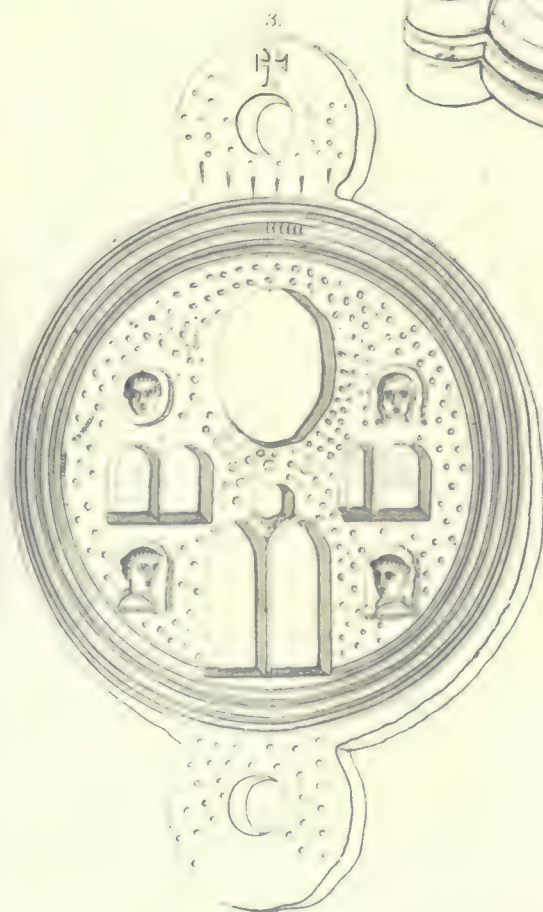
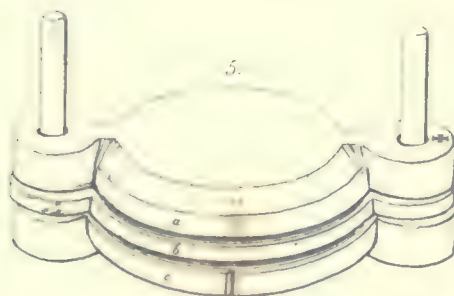
^b Plate XXXII. fig. 5.

been explained, had not a broken impression of the Canterbury Seal been found among the Harleian Charters, No. 75. F. 46, by an attentive examination of which the ænigma was easily solved. The mode therefore of taking an impression^c is simply this: A layer of wax is spread or poured over the face of the lower portion (Pl. XXXII. fig. 5, *a*) of the matrix (forming the *Obverse* of the seal) on which, by means of the two pins, the centre piece (*b*) is immediately fixed, thereby impressing the wax on both sides. Another layer is then laid over the top surface of the centre piece, on which the upper portion of the matrix (forming the *Reverse*) is placed, and the whole submitted to pressure. As soon as the wax has cooled, the upper and centre portions of the matrix are removed, when a perfect impression of the Seal will remain, consisting of two halves, impressed on both sides. The lower half will bear the obverse of the Seal, (fig. 1.) representing the Virgin seated, with the Infant in her arms, within the portal or arch of a magnificent building, intended probably for the Priory of Southwick; with this legend round the margin, SIGILLUM: ECCLESIE: SANCTE: MARIE: DE: SUWIKĀ. On the back of this half will appear the figures engraven on the lower surface of the centre piece (fig. 4.) viz. above, a half length of Christ, holding a cross in the left hand, whilst the right is in the attitude of benediction. Lower down are two heads of Apostles or Saints, and beneath, the angel Gabriel appearing to the Virgin. The other half of the Seal (fig. 2.) will represent the reverse, viz. another elevation of the Priory, with this rhyming legend around it:

SIT . PRO : SUWIKĀ : MEDIATRIX : VIRGO : PVDICA :
ET . PAX : ANGELICA : SIT : NOBIS : SEMPER : AMICA .

whilst on the back will be impressed the figures on the upper surface of the centre piece (fig. 3.), namely, four heads of Apostles or Saints. All that now remains to be done is to unite the two halves together, in doing

^c By the assistance of a very ingenious artist, Mr. J. Doubleday, of 5, Hyde Street, Museum Street, a number of accurate impressions have been made, and to his remarks I own myself much indebted.



Seal of Southwick Priory, Hampshire.



which the ingenuity of the inventor becomes a subject of surprise and admiration, for by the peculiar construction of the centre part of the matrix, the portions of the obverse and reverse of the impression which correspond to, and are intended to receive the figures on the centre piece, are rendered so thin as to be transparent, and easily broken through, by which means the back of each half becomes, as it were, part of the opposite face, and although four distinct surfaces were originally formed, yet by this happy and simple artifice they combine together and form only two. This will be shown more satisfactorily by the impressions I have caused to be taken, which represent the Seal both before and after the two halves are united.

From the broken impression of the Canterbury seal before alluded to, it is evident that the two halves were anciently fixed together by means of gum or cement, and to render the junction more secure, small pieces of spiral wire were introduced, and pressed into the substance of the seal. The method adopted by the artist I employed was merely that of pressure, and afterwards searing the edges with a hot iron.

With respect to the design and workmanship of this Seal, it will be allowed, without contradiction, to be of the highest merit, and from its close resemblance to the Seals of Canterbury, Norwich, Merton, and others, may safely be assigned to the same period, viz. the latter half of the thirteenth century, which is beyond all question the best and finest epoch of early English art, whether considered in regard to painting, architecture, or engraving. The seal of Merton Priory^d is of an oval form and of one solid piece of wax, so that it is not of the same peculiar class as the one I am describing, but for the high relief, and beautiful execution of the figure on the reverse, it must ever remain unrivalled. It is remarkable also, in common with the seals of Canterbury, Norwich,^e Rochester, and some others, for bearing an inscription round the edge, which must have been impressed by a *lamina* of metal, either circular or oval, and in the latter instance, probably with a hinge or pivot to

^d Cott. Chart. xxi. 25.

^e Top. Chart. 43.

turn on. The charter to which the Merton seal is affixed, in the Cotton collection, must certainly be earlier than 1252, since Eustachius, the Prior who is a party in the document, died in that year. The charter also, which bears the Canterbury seal in the Harleian collection, is dated 1278, and these dates will sufficiently warrant the assumed age of the Southwick Seal, even if we admit it to be rather more recent than either of the preceding.

From the new edition of the *Monasticon*, vol. VI. p. 244, we learn that this was not the earliest seal of Southwick Priory, but had been substituted for one more ancient, a practice by no means unusual. Among the charters of the Augmentation Office is preserved an impression of the former one, affixed to a deed bearing date 1189, representing on one side a very ancient church, and on the other (as a counter-seal) is a gem with the figure of an eagle, and this inscription, SPIRITVS. VERVM. VICTVS. SPIRAT.

It was, in all probability, this custom of counter-seals that gave rise to the invention exhibited on the Southwick seal, and on that of Canterbury, as the one might naturally lead to the other. But it has also been suggested, that this mode was perhaps invented for the purpose of preventing forgery, in which the monks of St. Austin were, perhaps, greater adepts than any of their brethren. Be this as it may, the fashion or invention seems to have been very limited in its use, and to have lasted but a short period, which might have proceeded, in some measure, from the trouble attending it.

The history of the Matrix itself is brief. It undoubtedly formed part of the possessions of the Priory of Southwick at the Dissolution, and passed, together with the muniments of that house, into the hands of the feoffee, to whom the site was granted by the Crown. These muniments have descended with the Southwick estate to the respective owners, and belong at present to Thomas Thistlethwaite, Esq. by whose liberality I have been enabled to consult the ancient cartulary of this Priory, with a view hereafter of giving its history to the public. At what period the matrix escaped from the rightful possessor seems doubtful, but it appears to

have been received by the father of the late John Bonham, Esq. of Petersfield, from a Mr. Smith, attorney, of Southwick. From Mr. Bonham it came to the present owner, John Bonham Carter, Esq. M. P. for Portsmouth, and I may congratulate myself on having been the first to point out the value and curiosity of this interesting relic.

It was originally my intention to have added some remarks on the preparation of the wax, and mode of affixing ancient Seals, but the length of this Paper (already beyond the limits I had designed) deters me from pursuing the subject at present.

I trust that the Society will consider the Matrix of Southwick Priory of a sufficiently curious and unique nature to authorise an engraving of it to be made, which would be a great satisfaction to,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

FREDERIC MADDEN.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq.
Treasurer S.A., &c. &c. &c.

A P P E N D I X.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

APPENDIX.

Roman remains in the neighbourhood of Grantham.

April 30, 1829. EDMOND TURNOR, Esq. F. S. A. made the following Communication:

“ Since the Society did me the honour to print in the First Part of the Twenty-second Volume of the *Archæologia*, my account of the Roman Baths and Villas in the neighbourhood of Grantham, another Roman Bath has been discovered by my friend Colonel Sir Charles Broke Vere, when on a visit at Stoke in October last.

“ This Bath is situated in the lordship of Stoke Rochford, in the same pretty valley, and about half a mile south of the Bath in North Stoke, and is the fourth which has been discovered in the course of the last twelve years, on a line six miles in extent, from Witham Common to Great Ponton: all the four are similarly situated with respect to the Ermine Street, the river Witham, and the Great North Road.^a

“ I do not recollect to have met with any account of so many Roman Baths, and consequently Villas, so near each other; it, however, confirms the assertion of Dr. Stukeley, that ‘all about Great Ponton the Romans inhabited very frequent: at Kirk Stoke (Stoke Rochford) particularly, where great quantities of antiquities have been found.’^b

“ Since my residence at Stoke in the last thirty years, many copper Roman coins have been brought to me, which had been dug up in the fields.

^a See the Map in *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 27.

^b *Phil. Trans.* vol. XXXV. p. 428.

“The same sort of tiles and tesserae, with a few pieces of pottery, were found in this last discovery; but the remains had suffered much more injury than those at North Stoke.”

Sir Charles Broke Vere's account of the discovery of the Roman Bath in Stoke Rochford, October 1828:

“Some Roman tiles or bricks having been found on the banks of the Witham, it was supposed that a Bath or Villa must have been situated somewhere on the river, near to where the bricks were found; and, on examination, an uneven spot of ground, apparently covering the foundations of walls, the directions of which might be traced at intervals, and about which were parcels of accumulated stones and rubbish, pointed itself out as the most probable site of the building, and that probability was strengthened by the finding of fragments of Roman tiles amongst the rubbish. A more attentive examination of the ground was made, and the foundations were traced, so as to form some general idea of a considerable part of the ground plan of the building. On the most prominent point of the outline, and where it was supposed the walls would be found in the most perfect state, an old ash was growing on the ruins, and as there was but little time to devote to the examination, it was apprehended that the roots of the tree would offer an interruption to the progress of the search. A line was therefore taken so as to include or cross as many of the walls and apartments or inclosures of the building as possible. The workmen were employed to cut a trench along the line, keeping it of sufficient width to enable them to sink it to the depth of five or six feet, and when they crossed a wall, they were to excavate till they found a floor, or till they had ascertained the foot or foundation of the wall. The direction taken proved successful. The trench discovered a large rectangular apartment, floored with cement, and it is presumed its walls were originally painted, several pieces of painted stucco having been thrown out by the workmen. At a level (and on the same line) of about five feet, the workmen entered a long narrow rectangled chamber, also floored with cement. This chamber

contained a double row of square columns or piers, each the square of a Roman brick of eighteen or twenty-two inches, of which they were constructed. Parts of the walls of this chamber were blackened by the action of fire, and a quantity of charcoal and ashes was thrown out with the rubbish. The chamber was cleared, so as to give the complete figure of its interior construction, which showed it to have been the Hypocaustum of a Bath. Little more was done in the way of excavation at the time, except by following, for short distances, the walls of the large apartment, and some other walls, so as to ascertain their direction.

“ The walls were generally of stone and lime mixed with clay ; the floors of Roman cement. The interior walls of the Hypocaustum were drawn with cement ; but of the same quality as that used on the floor, of a coarse but very durable nature. The building must have been long destroyed, and perhaps more than once disturbed from curiosity, or for its materials. Amongst the rubbish thrown out were fragments of tiles and bricks of every variety ; small pieces of black pottery of different forms and sizes, and one small piece of very fine pottery ware : also, some parts of stone bottles of a fine ware. There were also animals’ bones in the rubbish near the Hypocaust. The site of the building is on the south bank of the river Witham, where its course is east and west ; its aspect is north, and it lies under the high ground of the valley of the river, about sixty feet from it.

Origin of the Tressure of Scotland.

May 7, 1829. FRANCIS MARTIN, Esq. Windsor Herald, communicated, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. the following Remarks upon an ancient Seal Ring, and a Charter of Charles VI. of France, elucidating the origin of the Tressure of Scotland.

“ DEAR SIR,

College of Arms, April 23, 1829.

“ In the Fourth Volume of the *Archæologia* is some account of a curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir Richard Worsley, Bart. and conjec-

tures thereon by John Charles Brooke, Rouge-Croix Pursuivant, afterwards Somerset Herald.

“ It happens that I have it in my power (which would have afforded much delight to this latter gentleman, as he therein tells us) to investigate the subject of this device, ‘ Sicut ex Charta Regia concessaria hic verbatim expressè.’ ”



“ Nathaniel Lee-Acton, Esquire, of Bramford Hall, near Ipswich, and of Levermore Park, near Bury St. Edmund’s, is in possession of a Pedigree on parchment, compiled in the reign of Henry the Seventh, with the exception of a portion at the lower end added in 1557, which contains a true copy of the original Charter or Grant from King Charles the Sixth of France to Alexander Stewart, and which he has kindly, through my friend John Pownall, Esq. of Staple Inn, permitted me to place before the Society of Antiquaries for its inspection.

“ How it came into the hands of Mr. Lee-Acton I am not aware, but

it was lately found in a chest amongst his family muniments and title deeds by Mr. Pownall, and has most probably descended to him from one of his maternal ancestors of the family of Stewart, who formerly resided in Cambridgeshire, and are recorded in the Visitation of that County.

“ In consequence of having seen only an Abstract of the French King’s charter, as entered with the pedigree of Stewart in the said Visitation made by Sir Henry St. George, Richmond Herald, in 1619, now in the College of Arms, and not the Charter at length, Mr. Brooke was led to conclude, that the introduction of the double Tressure proved the Seal-Ring to have been of much more modern execution than the date of the French King’s patent. He says, ‘ We find no mention of such a charge in the abstract of the French King’s patent, nor indeed, at the time the event happened, which gave occasion to the device, had the family any right to it.’

“ The fallacy of his reasoning, which is founded on the right being alone derived from the Kings of Scotland, will however be apparent, on reference to the transcript of the Charter, as inserted in the parchment Roll herewith transmitted, which agreeably elucidates the origin of the term *Très-assuré*, or *Tressure*.

“ ‘ Charles per la grace de Die Roye de Ffrance, a touz gentes d’escocce salut. Pur le trescher amour ke noonnz^a au Alisander Stewart, ñre Serviteur, pur le valereulx overes^b moult sagement en ñre ensoigne de guerre per luy ovenées,^c ores nomant pur le beau faiz de Andre Stewart, chivaler son père, fitz-Alexandre fitz-Walter, a Dundevale, Seneschal d’escocce, ke dit Andre apré maintes chivauches ontoit et ointinent de mayne force de baston et espée au battayle champêtre chassoit hors de la duble tressassure d’escocce le faux et futife usurper et coart lion de Balliol, et ramenoit le corone d’escocce a son vray et droitriel test—cést a dire a David le trepassé ñre beau Cosyne jadis Roye d’escocce—et de forbonne queor^d fesant repaire of sa mesne a ñre ayle Ro^e Jehan, ke

^a nous avons.

^b œuvres.

^c advenées.

^d cœur.

^e ayeul Roy.

alme die assoile, en le mal contest par la Roye de navarre comencé et nient sopie fut malement meurtrie, le forbonne talent de ke jañayes guerdonne en mal gré nous prignons—de notre bountye purceo ottrons et coñiandons a Alexandre ñre home, ke avons fait chivaler de ñre maine proper et ly associe a cel^f heure of ñre Amiral in l'ambassade d'escoce, ke desheure en avant^g soye-meme et toutes ses fiz de son sange en la beau memorie de la heureux nome d'andre son père, le meux apris des armes et le plus vaylant combateur pur son Roy et maistre du mound ; kyl, en un petit escue d'argent, port du lyon ruge battye de baston nodé sur son fesse chekey au champe doré, ou sil y plait, cest escu d'argent of le lion ruge battye de baston nodé dore solement—com son escu de guerre proper à luy et à son sange a toutz joures au façon de cecy au marge en maine pendant avec le figure de André combattant deins le duple treassure est depeint. Car tel est ñre plesure royal. Doné à Paris le priñier jour de Julleit l'an de ñre Raigne le Cinq.' (1384).

“ I have the honour to present to the Society a fac-simile, as it appears on the parchment Pedigree, the translation of which would run thus :

“ ‘ Charles, by the grace of God King of France. To all Scotchmen, health ! For the very great regard that we have towards Alexander Stewart, our servant, for the deeds performed by him with much judgment under our ensign of war, and giving celebrity to the brave deeds of Sir Andrew Stewart, Knt. his father, son of Alexander Fitz-Walter of Dundevale, Seneschal of Scotland, which said Andrew, after many forays, disgracefully and completely, by the main force of his baton and sword in the field of battle, drove out of the Double Tressure of Scotland the false and dastardly usurper and coward Lion of Baliol, and restored the Crown to its true and right royal head ; that is to say, to David our late fair Cousin, formerly King of Scotland ; and by his superior courage restoring his domain to our grandfather King John, whose soul God assoile, who, in a severe contest commenced by the King of

^f cette.

^g dorenavant.

Navarre, was unexpectedly and basely murdered ; the very high prowess of whom never having been rewarded.

“ ‘ We nevertheless take upon us of our goodness to do, wherefore we direct and command our man Alexander, whom we have made a Knight with our own hand, and whom we associate at this time with our Admiral in an embassy to Scotland, that henceforth he himself and all the issue of his blood, in glorious memory of the renowned name of Andrew his father, the most expert in arms, and the most valiant combatant for his King and master in the world. That he do bear, upon his fess Chequé in a Golden field, on a small shield Argent, a lion Gules debruised by a knotted baton ; or, if he thinks proper, this shield Argent, of the lion Gules debruised by the knotted baton Or, shall be solely his own proper shield of war, confined to himself and those of his blood for ever. As the same are in the margin hereof, suspended from a hand, with the figure of Andrew combatting within the Double Tressure depicted, For such is our Royal pleasure.

“ ‘ Given at Paris, the first day of July, in the fifth year of our Reign.’

“ That the Seal Ring is comparatively modern I have no doubt, even later than the sixteenth century, as conjectured, and with the opinion of my friend Dr. Meyrick, I think myself able to extricate Dr. Milles from his dilemma, who in a Memoir preceding Mr. Brooke’s, in vol. IV. of the *Archæologia*, asks, “ How shall we account for the sculptor (of the Seal Ring) representing the warrior in a dress which seems to have been so much more ancient, but does not correspond with the fashion of that age ? ”

“ It is true, generally speaking, that artists of old copied what was before their eyes, and therefore represented events of any period in the costume of their own times ; but Heralds had often to insert ancient grants in their documents, and on such occasions endeavoured to give, as well as they could, fac-similes.

“ Dr. Meyrick conjectures, that when Charles the Sixth expressed his royal pleasure of conferring upon Alexander Stewart, in 1384, an augmentation to his arms, he was called upon to mention any celebrated

act of his ancestors, and that he delivered in a record of an event of high importance in the history of Scotland : for to such a circumstance, rather than ' to the Lion of England, or to the Crusades,' as suggested by Mr. Brooke, does this drawing refer.

" Whether this was a deed or a seal we have no means precisely of ascertaining ; yet, notwithstanding a similar signet of Roger de Quincy, I am induced to incline to the former opinion : indeed, except we conceive a document of this kind, how can we account for the many English or Scottish words occurring throughout this French Grant ?

" The costume, Dr. Meyrick tells me, is precisely that of the reign of Edward the First, and continued in Scotland down to 1331, as appears from Blore's monumental effigy of Sir James Douglas : now Edward Baliol had usurped the throne of Scotland on the death of King Robert the First, in 1329, and thereby excluded his son David the Second, who did not recover his right till the valiant deed of Sir Andrew Stewart, celebrated in this charter. I must however add, that it also resembles that in the Seal just mentioned.

" The form of the shield, suspended from the warrior's neck, is more consonant to the time of Charles the Sixth, and betrays the period in which the copy was made, as do the three fleurs de lis on the hanging sleeve issuing from the dexter point above.

" As this Document throws some interesting information on the subject of the two memoirs mentioned herein, if you think that the accompanying remarks thereon are worthy of the attention of the Society, I shall be much gratified by your doing me the favour to lay them before it.

I remain, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

" FRANCIS MARTIN, WINDSOR."

Silver Bowl formerly belonging to the Monastery of Rochester.

June 18, 1829. THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. Treasurer, exhibited to the Society an ancient Silver Bowl, accompanied by the following Letter addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary.

"MY DEAR SIR,

James Street, 17 June, 1829.

"With the permission of Andrew Fountaine, Esq. of Narford Hall, in Norfolk (to whom, as the present possessor of the fine collections of his ancestor, Sir Andrew Fountaine, the Society is already indebted for similar favours) I beg to exhibit a small ancient Bowl or Basin,



bearing a well engraved uncial inscription in these words; CIPHUS REFECTORII ROFENSIS PER FRATREM ROBERTUM PECHAM. It has a figure of St. Benedict impressed in the centre, the Monastery of Rochester being a Benedictine foundation.

“As the construction of the Basin appears to be inconvenient for the purpose of drinking, Mr. Fountaine conceives that, notwithstanding the inscription indicates it to have belonged to the Refectory, it must have been rather used for the purpose of receiving alms, probably at the Altar. I find, however, in Ducange, the Scyphus described only as a vessel into which the wine used at the Sacrament was poured back from the larger chalice. Among the ancients, the Scyphus was certainly a drinking Cup or Bowl of large dimensions. Martial says,

‘Hic Scyphus est in quo misceri jussit amicis
Largius Æacides, et bibit ipse merum.’

Lib. viii. 6.

“The present Bowl, being of delicate workmanship, belonged perhaps rather to the ornamental than the serviceable furniture of the Refectory, enjoying an honourable station on the sideboard, as Brother Pecham’s donarium.

“I remain, my dear Sir,

“most faithfully yours,

“THOMAS AMYOT.”

Roman remains found at Melford, Suffolk.

June 18, 1829. RICHARD ALMACK, Esq. of Long Melford, Suffolk, communicated the following notice of the discovery of a large Glass Vessel, and two Urns and a Patera of earth, at Melford, formerly exhibited to the Society without particular explanation, and afterwards presented by Sir William Parker to the British Museum.

“They were found in March 1823, by some workmen who were digging for gravel, very near to my house in Melford, in a low flat country, about three hundred yards from the river Stour, which divides Suffolk and Essex. They were discovered at the depth of six feet, standing upright; the large glass vessel and the two urns forming a triangle, at the distance of about two feet from each other. The mouth of the glass vessel was covered by the patera, reversed, and laid on the top as a lid.

The largest urn had a Roman coin in the mouth, being just large enough to fit the aperture, but so corroded as to render it impossible to decipher the inscription, and very difficult to form an opinion as to the head. The patera was unfortunately broken, and the handle of the glass vessel cracked by the workmen in getting them out. About an hour after the vessels were found they were brought to me. On going to the spot, I discovered the broken patera, and the workmen pointed out the substance which they had taken from the vessels. It had the appearance of lamp-black. The glass vessel had contained bones, which seemed to have been partially burnt.

“Near the place where these were discovered, skeletons, remnants of broken urns, a style, Roman coins of Hadrian, Vespasian, &c. have been found at different times; though no systematic search for antiquities has ever been made upon the spot.”

Remarks on the Coins of the Kings of Mercia.

November 26, 1829. EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S. Keeper of the Antiquities and Medals in the British Museum, communicated the following Remarks upon the Coins of the Kings of Mercia:

“I beg leave to offer to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries a few remarks, for the purpose of rectifying some mistakes which have been committed by numismatic writers in assigning the coins of Ceolvvlf and Ciolvvlf to their respective sovereigns.

“In Sir Andrew Fountaine’s Dissertation, appended to Hickes’s *Thesaurus*, engravings are given of three of these Coins, which are all ascribed to Ceolvvlf the First, as he is usually called, but of which two belong, in my opinion, to the King who is generally styled Ceolvvlf the Second.

“In Ruding’s *Plates*, five of these coins appear. In plate vii. and Appendix, pl. xxix. are three which are ascribed to Ciolvvlf I. and in

pl. viii. are two which are ascribed to Ceolvvlf II. and in all these instances erroneously.

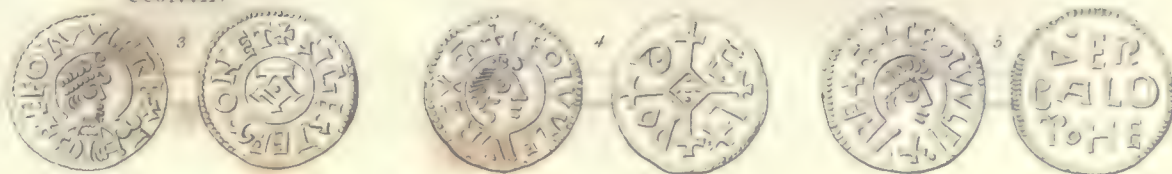
“ The coins of Offa differ strikingly from those of any other Saxon King, by the great superiority of their workmanship. Upon the coins of his successor Coenvulf the workmanship is very inferior ; the nose is formed by a line bent at an acute angle, the lips are expressed by two straitish short lines, and the cheeks and chin are in very slight relief ; the letters are also formed by lines rather uniform in thickness, except at the ends. This style of workmanship continues through the coins of Ceolvvlf, Beornvvlf, Ludica, and Wiglaf, though gradually becoming more rude. In some of the coins of Berhtulf the same style of workmanship appears, but generally the features and letters begin to assume an appearance as if they had been formed in the dies by triangular punches ; the nose is expressed by a line increasing in thickness towards the base, and if any attempt is made to express the under part of the nose, it is by a small line at an angle with that which forms the upper part, but not connected with it. The lips are formed of two triangular dots ; sometimes there is a slight swelling upon the coin to indicate a cheek, but of a chin there is scarcely ever any appearance. This barbarity of execution increases in the coins of his successor Burgred. Every feature seems to be formed by separate punches, a thick curved line sometimes forms the forehead and nose, which last feature is at other times expressed by a triangular dot near the end of the curved line of the forehead, the lips are formed of two triangular dots, and there is not a particle of relief, or of any mark whatever, to shew that the King had either a cheek or a chin.

“ If these remarks, respecting the style of the workmanship of these several coins, are, as I believe they are, correct, there will not be much difficulty in ascribing to their proper Kings the coins of Ceolvvlf and Ciolvvlf. In all those which I have seen, in which the name is spelt Ceolvvlf, the workmanship, though extremely rude, still bears the characteristic marks of that which appears upon the coins of Coenvulf, Beornvvlf, Ludica, and Wiglaf, while on all those where the name of

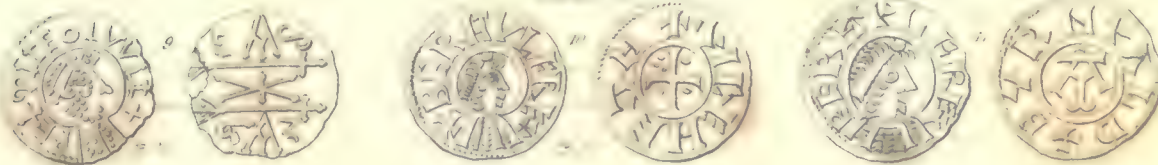
Coenvulf



Ceolvulf.



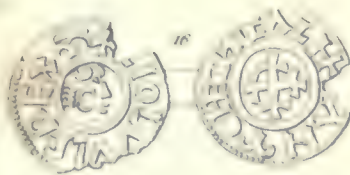
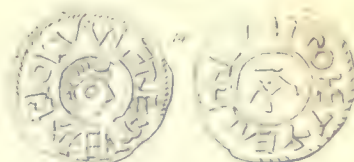
Berhtvulf



Burgred



Ceolwulf





the King is Ciolvulf, the features and letters are, like those of Berhtulf and Burgred, expressed chiefly by triangular marks.

“ Upon two coins, one of which is of Ciolvulf^a in the British Museum, and the other of Ceolvulf^b in the collection of Mr. Cuff, of the Bullion Office in the Bank of England, the type and general appearance is so similar that they might at first sight be supposed duplicates, except as regards the spelling of the King's name, and the name of the moneyer, yet more accurate observation will lead to the conclusion attempted to be established, that the coins of Ciolvulf have the feature and letters expressed by triangular punches, which is not the case upon the coins of Ceolvulf.

“ In the collection of Mr. Cuff is also another coin of Ciolvulf,^c of a different type from the Museum specimen above mentioned, but of the same workmanship and the same moneyer's name, and there is a remarkable peculiarity in the formation of a part of this name which strongly corroborates the opinion I have formed; the letters *h* *s* are united, and have the appearance of an *h* with a small triangular dot attached to it; the second stroke of the *h* being the first of the *s*. This peculiar mode of uniting the *h* and *s* occurs also upon a coin of the same King, and of a still different type, in the collection of Dr. Hunter.^d

“ This same name of a moneyer occurs upon two coins of Coenvulf,^e but in neither of these are the *h* and *s* united, nor has the *s* this peculiar form.

“ A third coin in the collection of Mr. Cuff is a very interesting one, and decisive of the question; it is a coin of Ciolvulf,^f of the peculiar workmanship I have ascribed to his coins, and has on the reverse the letter *s* not attached to any other letter, and of the peculiar form which has been remarked upon the other coins of this same King, but not on those of any other King that I now recollect. Upon this coin the place of mintage is mentioned; this place is Dorobernia, or Canterbury, which

^a Plate XXXIII. f. 14.

^b Pl. XXXIII. f. 3.

^c Pl. XXXIII. f. 16.

^d See Ruding, pl. VII.

^e Pl. XXXIII. f. 2, and Ruding, pl. VI. f. 9.

^f Pl. XXXIII. f. 15.

indisputably limits it to Ciolvulf, the successor of Burgred ; for Ceolvulf, who only reigned one year, was, during the whole of that short period, cotemporary with Beldred King of Kent, and could not in any part of his reign have had the privilege or the power of coining money in the city of Canterbury.

“ The mention of the place of mintage and the general appearance of the coins, has long induced Mr. Cuff to arrange the coins in his cabinet in the order for which I have attempted to assign reasons which I trust will be satisfactory to those who take an interest in the Anglo-Saxon series of our National Coinage.”

Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, in Plate XXXIII., are from coins in the collection of Mr. Cuff ; the others are from coins in the British Museum.

Roman Pavement at Worplesdon, in Surrey.

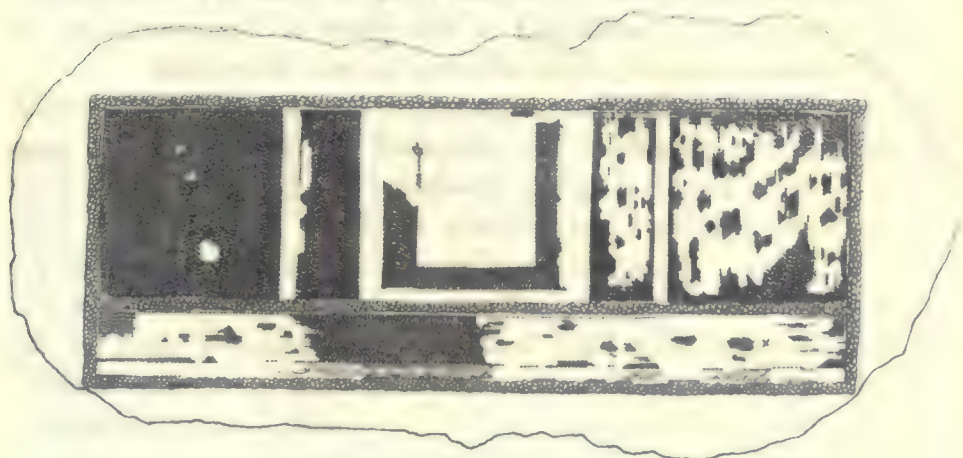
November 26, 1829. ALLEN SIBTHORPE, Esq. communicated to the Society, by the hands of William Bray, Esq. the following Account of the discovery of a Roman Pavement :

“ On the 13th of July 1829, an ancient Pavement, presumed to be of Roman origin, was discovered on Broadstreet Common, in the parish of Worplesdon, in Surrey. The spot which it occupied is distant two miles and a half from the town of Guildford, and is close to the northern border of the cultivated lands which lie across the chalk hill called “ the Hog’s-back,” and which, on reaching its northern base, stretch out to some distance on the more level country.

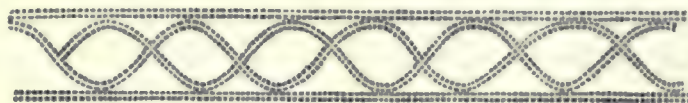
“ The Pavement under consideration was accidentally discovered by some labourers, who were employed to dig stones on the common for the repair of the highways. Mr. George Charman, the way-warden, who rents of the Earl of Onslow a farm adjoining the common, the soil of which is a strong clay, and very wet in winter, had frequently observed that cattle resorted to a particular spot to rest, it being more dry than the surrounding ground, and he directed the men to dig there.

At a few inches below the surface, they found a quantity of flints, forming part of the foundation, which will be presently adverted to, and also a great number of small fragments of iron stone. As they proceeded with their work, they observed that these fragments were arranged in regular order, and their attention was more particularly attracted by a piece of ornamental work of a lozenge shape, formed of small tesserae in different colours, viz. red, white, yellow, and brown. The red were of burnt earth, the white of chalk, the yellow and brown also appeared to be of chalk stained with some liquid colours. Unfortunately this ornament was destroyed before its discovery was made known to any one interested in its preservation: the principal part of the tesserae were obtained from the workmen, but no satisfactory information could be gathered as to the order of their arrangement.

“The Earl of Onslow, Lord of the Manor, having received intimation of the discovery, directed that the search should be continued with greater care, and the result was the gradual developement of several portions of pavement, which at some time evidently formed the floors of a suite of apartments, as described in the accompanying drawing.



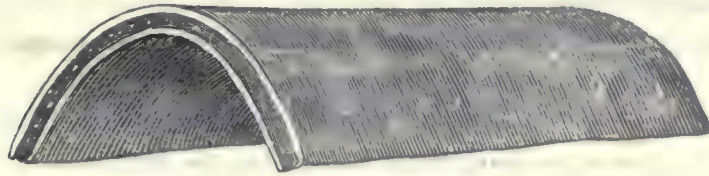
The entire length of the building appears to have been sixty-two feet within the walls. The breadth, including the passage, twenty-three feet three inches. The centre compartment, forming a hollow square, is presumed to have been the margin of a bath or sudatory. On each side of this is the floor of a small apartment, sixteen feet by five, and beyond these on each side the floor of a larger room, sixteen feet by fourteen, forming the northern and southern extremities of the plan. Along the whole extent of the western side ran a piece of pavement, presumed to have been a passage, which was ornamented at its outer edge with a border formed of very small tesserae arranged in a double wavy pattern in the centre, red and black, thus :



“The blackish stones were of the same kind as those forming the floors of the rooms, but much smaller, and the red were of a composition which, on exposure to the air and damp, became as soft as unburnt clay. It was near the south end of this piece of Pavement that the lozenge-shaped ornament, above adverted to, was discovered.

“With the exception of that ornament and the border above-described, the whole of the pavement was composed of fragments of the iron-stone, which is found in great abundance in the Sand Hills lying southward of Guildford, particularly at Saint Martha’s and Saint Catherine’s Hills. This Stone is of great weight and hardness, and the fragments here used are sufficiently near to a square shape to show that considerable pains must have been taken in preparing them for the purpose. They are about one inch square, thus giving one hundred and forty-four to each square foot of pavement. Along the eastern side the stones were found a little sloping upwards towards the edge. This arrangement was so regular along the whole of that side, that it could not be considered the effect of accident.

“Round the whole Pavement there was a foundation, one foot six inches in breadth, formed of large flint stones, and many pieces of brick and tile were mixed with the soil. The surface of these tiles on both sides was of the ordinary red colour, but the middle of their thickness was of a blue slate-colour and perfectly hard. Among the fragments were found some tiles of this shape, in a nearly perfect state.



“Three Coins were found; but two of them, Roman, so much corroded that little could be said of them with confidence. One of brass appeared to resemble that of Carausius as given in the Plate in Camden's *Britannia*, of ‘*Nummi antiqui Romanorum qui ad historiam Britannicam præcipuè spectant.*’

“Besides these coins, there was found near the centre of the Pavement a piece of metal, or rather two pieces united in a transverse manner, greatly corroded.

“The Remains, of which a description has been here attempted, afford no particular interest as a work of art, but in the estimation of the antiquary they may perhaps derive some importance from the circumstance of their being at a considerable distance from any known station of the ancient Romans. Guildford, though it existed as a town in Saxon times, affords no trace of a Roman origin, nor have we any record of Roman work having been ever, until now, discovered within several miles of the place. *Farnham*, the *Caleva Attrebatum* of Antoninus, is the nearest Roman station, and that is about eight miles from this Pavement. The camp at Tuxbury Hill, near that town, is about the same distance.

“It is not easy to conjecture why a Roman villa should have been

erected on such a wet and deep clay common, at least seven or eight miles from any known station of the Romans. If Farnham is the Caleva of Antoninus's Itinerary, it is at least seven or eight miles from that place; if we are to look for the Pontibus of the Iter at Colnbrook, it cannot be less; or if we look to Cæsar's camp on St. George's Hill, in Walton on Thames (not far from Cowey Stakes, where it is supposed he crossed the Thames) it would not be less distant; if we go to the now well known road from Chichester to London, through the Weald of Sussex and Surrey by Billingshurst and Dorking to Woodcote (Noviomagus), the distance would be still greater.

"If we advert to the conjecture of Mr. Salmon, that there was a road from Farnham over the long chalk hill, called the Hog's-back, to Guildford, and from thence to Woodcote, it would still be difficult to conjecture why the Romans should have chosen such a situation for a villa, where they had a considerable distance to bring the flints which they wanted, from that very line of road where they lay ready to their hand, and that too in a situation far preferable for the purposes of building.

"It cannot be denied that, if a Roman road did exist, extending from Farnham to Woodcote, it is highly probable that it ran along the ridge of the hill above referred to, the peculiar form of which, added to the nature of its soil, which is chalk, would present particular facilities for the construction of a road.

"The Pavement above described lies at a distance of about a mile and a half from the base of that hill. The seventh Iter of the Itinerary of Antoninus (a Regno Londinium) which includes Caleva Attrebatum and Pontibus, might possibly pass within a short distance of the spot under consideration,^a but, as has been already observed, the neighbourhood affords no certain indication of any Roman work.

^a Mr. Dallaway, in the Preliminary History to the first Volume of his "Western Sussex," suggests a reason for the Itinerary describing the road from Regnum [Chichester] to London by the circuitous way of Clausentum [Southampton], instead of from Regnum through the Weald of Sussex and Surrey by Billingshurst and Dorking, to be this, that the Romans first of all employed themselves in making or perfecting from British

“Aubrey, speaking of the common of Worplesdon, says, that there is ‘a great old trench running south-east and north-west,’ but the writer of these remarks has been hitherto unable to trace any thing of the appearance thus alluded to.

“The Earl of Onslow, finding it impossible to preserve the Pavement in a situation where it was so entirely exposed, has caused the several portions to be accurately measured, and removed the whole of the stones to his own residence at Clandon, where he proposes to have them laid down as nearly as possible in the same manner as when they were found.”

On a Penny of Offa, King of Mercia.

December 3, 1829. WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F. S. A. of Highgate, near Birmingham, presented a short Comment on a Penny of Offa, King of Mercia, as follows:

“In looking through the series of Anglo-Saxon Coins, none are to be met with of equal interest for their good taste to those of Offa, King of Mercia, A. D. 758 to 796, who, having either visited Rome, or held some intercourse with that seat of the arts, may be supposed to have brought artists from thence, or at least obtained designs there, for the improvement of his money. Indeed, those coins which have the head of that monarch, are executed, to use the words of our late learned member Mr. Ruding,^a ‘in a style of drawing which is without parallel in the money of this Island, from the time of Cunobeline to the reign of King Henry the Seventh;’ and, it is added, ‘the types of the Reverses are extremely numerous, and some of them are not destitute of picturesque design.’

tracks the four great Roads across the Island, the Weald of Sussex and Surrey being at that time a very great extent of uninhabited country, presenting an almost impervious passage through the dense wood, standing on a deep clay soil, and that when they had finished the great roads, and their armies had little employment, they were set to work to make a road through that difficult passage.

^a Annals of Coinage, vol. i. p. 235.

“Mr. Ruding’s plates contain above forty specimens, from various public and private collections, and he enumerates a large fraternity of moneyers; but, indefatigable as that gentleman was in the pursuit of Numismatics, a Penny of Offa, with the very interesting singularity of a Runic legend upon it, escaped his researches. A wood-cut of this unique coin is introduced in the Dissertation, ‘De veterum Sueogothorum cum Anglis usu et commercio,’ prefixed to the first edition of Serenius’s *Dictionarium Anglo-Suethico-Latinum*, A. D. 1734;^b as follows: “Proferam nunc alium nummum Runicum argenteum, indubitata Anglicum, ante quinquennium in Cantuariensi agro repertum, quem nunc ad lectissimam in Re nummariâ septentrionalium Benzelianum collectionem delegatum liberalitati et amicitiae reverendi et clarissimi Johannis Creykeii^c debemus, En ectypum—



“The Reverse exhibits six Runic letters, separated into three divisions of two each, by an arbitrary character thrice repeated. These letters, according to the alphabet of Runes in the Cottonian MS. Domitian, A. 9. (Hickes’s *Thesaurus*, *Tabella II.*) are BOTRED; and thus the erudite author of the Dissertation renders them, though doubtful as to their precise arrangement:^d ‘Quid vero illic Runæ EDBOTR, vel BOTRED velint, dicant alii. Ingeniosissimus Harduinus ex interpunctione singulas literas vocum nominumque initiales esse, more suo dixisset; Magnates vel monetarii sua nomina aversæ parti addiderunt apud Anglo-Saxonas.’

“Whether the arbitrary character be intended to represent a sceptre,

^b p. 21.

^c Creyke, Joh. S.T.P. is one of the subscribers to the book, “in Anglia.”

^d Page 25.

or the Runic M of some other alphabets (to which its form approaches), and in that case may stand for MONETARIUS, it is impossible, and not important, to determine. BOTRED we know, from another source, was a moneyer of the heptarchic period; for, though he is now for the first time enrolled among the workmen of Offa's mint, his name occurs on a coin of Coenvulf,^e who (saving only the six months' reign of Egcbert) was Offa's immediate successor.

"To an Italian origin or education, our artist BOTRED has certainly no pretensions. His performances are too unclassical and rude for such a climate, to say nothing of his hyperborean appellation; but, from his having chosen in the present instance to fling a Runic mantle about him, we may reasonably infer that he was a native of Denmark, or of some other northern country."

Inscription upon a Chimney-piece, recently discovered in the Governor's House in the Tower of London.

February 25, 1830. JAMES HEYWOOD MARKLAND, Esq. F. S. A. made the following Communication to the Society:

"Some recent alterations in the Governor's house in the Tower have brought to light an inscription which may be added to those melancholy records of imprisonment within that building, given in the Thirteenth Volume of the Archæologia.

"On the removal of an old chimney-piece, in a room which has recently been repaired, on the third floor of the west side of the Governor's residence, (immediately adjoining to a passage which leads to what is called Queen Elizabeth's chamber, in the Bell Tower,) this inscription was discovered, rudely cut in stone, and the Surveyor-general of the Board of Works has most properly directed that it should be carefully preserved.

"The following is the inscription:

^e Ruding, vol. I. p. 237, and plate 7, number 23.

VP . ON . THE . TWENTY . DAIE . OF . IVNE.
 IN . THE . YERE . OF . OVR . LORD . A . THOVSANDE.
 FIVE . HVNDRED . THRE . SCOR . AND . FIVE . WAS.
 THE . RIGHT . HONORABL . COVNTES . OF .
 LENNOX . GRACE . COMMYTEDE . PRYSNER.
 TO . THYS . LOGYNGE . FOR . THE . MAREGE.
 OF . HER . SONNE . MY . LORD . HENRY . DARNLE.
 AND . THE . QVENE . OF . SCOTLANDE.
 HERE . IS . THERE . NAMS . THAT . DO . WAYTE.
 VP . ON . HER . NOBL . GRACE . IN . THYS . PLASE.
 M . ELISABETH HVSEY
 M . IHAN BAILY
 M . ELISABETH . CHAMBRLEN
 M . ROBARTE PORTYNGTON
 EDWARDE CVEYNE
 ANNO DOMINI . 1566
 AS . GOD . PRESERVED . CHRIST . HIS . SONE.
 IN . TROVBLE . AND . IN . THRALL
 SO . WHEN . WE . CAL . VP . ON . THE . LORD.
 HE . WILL . PRESERVE . VS . ALL.

“Lady Margaret Douglas was the daughter and sole heiress of Archibald Earl of Angus by Margaret Queen of Scots, the eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh and widow of James the Fourth, and was born in 1515.

“It appears from Camden (whose information was derived from the Countess of Lennox herself) that she was *thrice* imprisoned in the Tower; not, as he states, for ‘any crime, but from love matters.’

“Her first imprisonment was occasioned by a match being apprehended between herself and Lord Thomas Howard, son of the first Duke of Norfolk, and for which Lord Thomas was attainted, and afterwards died in the Tower.

“This *first* imprisonment appears to have lasted about one year.

“ In 1544, she married Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, by whom she had eight children. On the marriage of her son Henry Lord Darnley, in 1565, to Mary Queen of Scots, she was (according to Holinshed) on the 22d April following, ‘ commanded to keep her chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the 22d June,^a and was then conveyed by Sir Francis Knolles and the guard, to the Tower of London by water.’

“ This *second* imprisonment lasted about eight months, as she was liberated on the 22d February 1566.

“ The following passages in Strype are interesting, as proving not only the extreme jealousy entertained by Elizabeth of the Queen of Scots as her probable successor, but the vigilance exercised by herself and her ministers towards all who were deemed friendly to Popery.

‘ When Lord Lydington came to England in June 1565, to obtain Elizabeth’s consent for the marriage of Mary with Darnley, he found great offence, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent to declare the discontentment of her Majesty, and to use means to break the match. He returned, well rewarded, but could not dissolve it, although he said it was misliked by all the subjects of the realm. And she herself confessed that, if it were then to be done, she would be otherwise advised. But that she was determined, and prayed her Majesty to comport with her until she would send one of her’s hither (which should be Mr. Hayes) to declare to the Queen some reasons on her behalf. Upon this, the Lady Countess of Lenox here in England, as she was in some custody already, was to be committed to some further custody, and the Lords, her husband the Earl, and her son the Lord Darnley, were to forfeit whatsoever they had here; and because it was likely their foundation in England was upon Papists, the Protestants here were to receive more comfort and the Papists more disgrace.’^b

The same writer states, ^c that upon the marriage it was prayed, in a memorial to the Earl of Leicester from the Lord Murray, ‘ to have some greater restraint put upon the Lady Lenox, and some harder sequestration than she now hath: so as she may have conference with

^a This date does not exactly agree with the Inscription.

^b Annals, vol. I. part ii. p. 203.

^c Ibid. p. 206.

none but such as are appointed unto her. And specially, that there be no means left unto her to have intelligence with the French Ambassador: but chiefly none with the Spanish; for there the matter importeth most, as I do certainly know.'

"It is impossible not to agree with Mr. Chalmers (in his *Life of Queen Mary*), that these proceedings were upon 'the true Turkish principle.'

"Holinshed, though he is the most minute in the biography of this Lady, does not mention her *third* imprisonment. Camden states that it was occasioned by the love of Charles, her younger son, with Elizabeth, the mother of Lady Arbella. As the Queen of Scots was accused of having made this match, these nuptials (from the descent of the husband, and from his relationship to James the Sixth) were looked upon by Elizabeth with an eye of more than common suspicion, and, according to Mr. Lodge and Mr. Hunter (in his excellent *History of Hallamshire*), the two Countesses of Lennox and Shrewsbury were for a time placed under restraint.^d

"There is a curious letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley on the subject of this marriage, in which the writer states, 'I must be plain with your Lordship, it is not the marriage matter, nor the hatred some bear to my Lady Lennox, my wife, or to me, that makes this great ado, and occupies heads with so many devices. It is a greater matter, which I leave to conjecture.'

"Mr. Ellis has given a most interesting letter from the Countess, written in or about 1569, where she affectingly alludes to the 'many sorrowful griefs she had passed,' and to her grandson, 'the little innocent King,' of whom her husband was anxious to have the guardianship, and to depart with him for safety to some foreign country. The last paragraph in the letter describes, in very touching terms, the state of destitution to which this illustrious woman was reduced, and her chequered life affords another melancholy proof, to the many that might be adduced, of the misfortunes which attended the house of Stewart:

'Now, good Mr. Secretary (she concludes), after I have made the discourse of this my grief unto you, as touching my Lord; and although her

^d Hunter, p. 69. Lodge, vol. II. p. 126.

Majesty were willing that he should go into Scotland, and in health and strength of body, as presently he is not yet in, I cannot see how his purse can be able to take that chargeable journey in hand; being in *such poor state as presently we are, for lately I have been forced to lay my jewels in gage for money to bear the ordinary charges of our house.*^e

"It may be necessary only to add, in conclusion, that Lady Lennox died at Hackney on the 10th March 1577, aged 62—that Camden describes her as a matron of singular piety, patience, and modesty, and that Queen Elizabeth appears to have been anxious to make some atonement to the dead for her severity to the living, by giving to the Countess, at her own charges, what is described as 'a stately funeral'^f

^e Ellis, second Series, vol. II. p. 334.

^f The Lansdowne Manuscript, vol. xxv. art. 85, contains two accompts of the charges for the Lady Lennox's Funeral, March 22, 1577. In one, the cost in money is said to have amounted to £37. 3s. 4d. The second seems to have been an estimate only, the total of which amounts to £54. 3s. 4d. It says "to xij Prebendaries, *if so many be present*, xijli." The first says, "to five Prebendaries then being presente vli."

"The Chardges of the buriall of the Right Honourable the Countie of Lennings, at Westminster.

"Imprimis for breakinge the grounde xli.

"Item to Mr Dean and to foure of his men, blacks.

"Item to five Prebendaries, then beinge presente, vli.

"Item to the Chaunter of the Quier xiijs. iiijd. and black.

"Item to foure Petty Cannons xls.

"Item to the Mr of the Choristers xs.

"Item to xij. singing men, every on of them vjs. viijd.—iiijli.

"Item to ij. Vergers, blacks.

"Item to ij. Sextons xs.

"Item to the Register vjs. viijd.

"Item to the Scoole-master xiijs. iiijd.

"Item to the Vsher xs.

"Item to foure bell-ringers, and others for ringinge, xxvjs. viijd.

"Item to the maker of the grave xs.

"Item to xl. Her Mats scollers xls.

"Item to ten Choristers xs.

"Item to xij. Her Mats Almesmen xij. gownes, blacks.

"Item to the inferior officers and servants of the howse xls.

"Item for the blacks in the Church and the Chauncell vjli. xiijs. iiijd.

"Som' totalis, besides the gownes and coats, xxxviijli. iijs. iiijd."

in Henry the Seventh's chapel; where a splendid tomb still bears her effigies, and records her name."

Seal of the Penitentiarius of Jerusalem.

March 4, 1830. THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. exhibited the Matrix of a Seal found some time since at Dunwich, the property of Mr. Gooding, of Southwold, in Sussex. It is of lead, was taken out of a wall, and was the Seal of the "Penitentiarius" of Jerusalem, as appears from the inscription round it:

"SIGILLUM PENITENTIARI IEROSOL."

The device, consisting of the patriarchal cross of Jerusalem, with a key on each side, was the symbol of the office of a confessor.



The office of "Penitentiarius" was that of a Confessor, to absolve the poor and needy, who could not afford to pay the heavy mulcts or fines which were due to the Church for absolution. He was appointed by the Patriarch, who was the Primate of his peculiar Church. In the early Church there were five, viz. one of Rome, of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem; each of which Churches had its Penitentiarius, as has the Roman Church at this day.

Chalk Vaults near St. Giles's Gate, Norwich.

March 4, 1830. SAMUEL WOODWARD, Esq. exhibited to the Society the Copy of an ancient Plan of the Chalk Vaults near St. Giles's Gate at Norwich, made by John Bond, 1571 ; accompanied by the following Observations, in a letter addressed to Hudson Gurney, Esq. V. P.

"These vaults or caverns were discovered in 1823, in sinking a Well : they were subsequently cleared out for public inspection, and certain names imposed which you see on the plan. I regret that the gentleman who lent me the original, could not furnish me with a scale to mark the dimensions of these Vaults, which is now unattainable, in consequence of their being closed up. Having seen them, I can say that their general width was about six feet ; their extent lengthwise and in cross streets was very considerable.

"The early method of working the chalk around Norwich appears to have been by cutting galleries to the depth of one hundred yards, into the stratum, and forming others at right angles to intersect them. Within the last fifty years a different mode has been adopted, namely, by uncovering the upper surface, and cutting down perpendicular jambs ; in doing this, the workmen frequently fall in with some of these old galleries.

"Similar excavations formerly existed on the east side of Norwich, near Bishop's Gate, and are described in the Philosophical Transactions for March 1747-8, N^o. 486, p. 244 ; these caverns were, however, destroyed by the shaking of the earth during a thunder-storm, June 12, 1748.

"The forming of these excavations in chalk, as well as those in more solid strata, have been attributed, by the late Mr. King and other antiquaries, to the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and are likewise considered to have been formed as places of retreat in time of danger, or as stores for laying up grain (see *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. I. p. 47.)

The Vaults near St. Giles's Gate are decidedly not of this description ; they are too irregular in their formation to have been used for the first purpose, and too humid for storing grain ; still they are undoubtedly very ancient, and I am induced to think that they were not so formed to extract

the chalk, but for the purpose of obtaining the black flints, of which so many have been used in the construction of the mansions of the Norwich merchants prior to the time of Queen Elizabeth. These caverns are situate just without the walls, and their original entrances (now filled up with earth) were in the slope facing the north. It is very probable that they must have been closed up soon after the name and date upon the Plan, "John Bond 1571," were written, otherwise I conceive these would not have been preserved to the time of the discovery. This supposition is strengthened by our local historian Blomefield, who, in p. 317, part I. of his Norwich, informs us, that "in 1578, the city was acquainted that her Majesty designed a progress through Norfolk and Suffolk, and to visit this city." When, among other orders issued by the Mayor for improving the appearance of the city, "the narrow way at St. Giles's Gate (was directed to be) enlarged, by casting down the hills;" this passage decidedly alludes to the spot in question, and there cannot be a doubt but that these curious excavations remained closed up from the time of this order in 1578, to their discovery in 1823.

On the etymology of the architectural term ATTIC.

April 1, 1830. The following Letter was read from WILLIAM HOSKING, Esq. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, explanatory of the word ATTIC, as used for the low Story or other superstructure in modern buildings:

"DEAR SIR,

Furnival's Inn, March 25th, 1830.

"Perhaps the importance we are all, almost unconsciously, in the habit of assigning to things connected with our own immediate studies and pursuits, may have led me to consider the etymology of an architectural term more interesting than it deserves. Having, however, made what I think to be a discovery, and one that would not be likely to occur to any but an Architect, I beg leave to submit it to you, and, if you esteem it of sufficient interest and importance, through you, to the Society of Antiquaries.

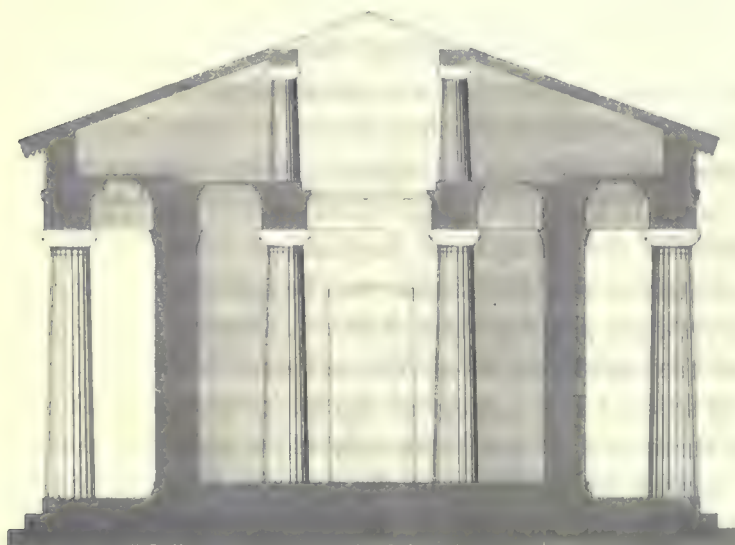
"The low Story, or other superstructure so commonly found in mo-

dern buildings, and in many of the architectural works of the Romans above a columnar ordinance, and terminating a front, or elevation, is called an Attic, and the reason given for that name is, that it was used in Attica. But the popular authorities on such subjects generally add to this, that such a thing as an Attic story does not appear in any of the existing specimens of Athenian edifices, and that indeed it was not known in Greek architecture at all. I had been so often asked—why it was called by the name it bears, if that were the case? and if it was not derived from the name of the country Attica, what the word could mean at all? that I took some pains to discover what the best etymologists said on the subject; but with no avail, for they either omit all mention of it, or give the ordinary absurd explanation. Architects are even more reserved, for Vitruvius does not use the term; Mr. Wilkins consequently omits it in his Glossary of architectural terms, appended to his translation of that author, and Mr. Gwilt simply states what is meant, or intended by it, without inquiring why the term is so applied. I then had recourse to Roman buildings, in which low superstructures of the kind are common, but could from no analogy divine why they should be called Attics; and was at length again driven to what I believe to be the genuine source—to the architectural works of the Greeks. Here the first difficulty to be surmounted was the absolute non-existence of any thing in external elevation which bore the remotest resemblance to an Attic. Internally, however, a superior story, or superimposed ordinance, is found in the upper range of columns of the hypæthral temple, as exemplified in the Temple of Neptune, at Pæstum. But the question immediately arises, why should this be called an Attic?

“ In a Greek temple, the walls of the Cella stand in connexion with, and are of the same height as, the external columns, as they have mutually to support the ceiling of the lateral porticoes or outer aisle; and when there are internal columns, as in an hypæthral structure, they too, resting on the floor of the temple, are similarly connected with the walls in the support of the ceiling over the inner aisles, and are consequently of the same height also. But the edifice being hypæthral, the nave, or space between the inner ranges of the columns,

must not be covered; an upper range of columns, or Attic, is therefore placed on each of these latter, to receive the upper ends of the rafters whose feet rest on the external entablature. Standing above the height of the walls of the Cella, and having none in connexion with them, as columns in every other situation have, they form an ordinance *Ἀτείχον*, from the privative *α* and *τείχος*, a wall—*without a wall*, or without being in connexion with a wall. Hence the Latin *Atticum*; and its application to a low superimposed ordinance, was natural and easy; and thus we have the term Attic. The ruins at Salonica, called “the Incantada,” show the progress from the simple internal arrangement of columns in an *Ἀτείχον*, to the regular external Attic of Roman Architecture, as they consist of an orthostyle or range of columns with their entablature, in a manner not dissimilar to the Attic in the Strand front of Somerset House, but that in the former the interspaces are open, and the latter has a finishing cornice instead of an architrave.

“The accompanying sketch, showing the transverse section of a Greek hypæthral temple,



will render what I have said intelligible to those who may not understand its arrangement and construction.

“ I am, dear Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

“ WILLIAM HOSKING.”

Antiquities found at Langton, in Dorsetshire.

May 6, 1830. Extract of a letter from the Rev. THOMAS RACKETT, F. S. A. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, containing an account of some Antiquities recently found at Langton, in Dorsetshire.

“ As the gardener and labourers of James John Farquharson, Esq. of Langton House, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, were very lately digging into a bank on the side of a hill near the river Stour, for the purpose of making a plantation, they discovered a skeleton lying in a cist in the chalk, covered over with flat stones. There were likewise found the bones of a horse, of a dog, and of a child; several urns, such as are usually found in Barrows in the West of England, all of which were broken; various pieces of ancient pottery, among which were some fragments of the red Samian ware, and of glass; an iron spear head, and also what appears to have been designed to answer the purpose of a spur and a stirrup, as part of a rowel was attached to it.

“ Spurs, it is well known, were used by the ancients, and are mentioned by Livy, Plautus, Virgil, and Silius Italicus,^a the two latter of whom use the term ‘*ferratâ calce*.’ Yet it is certain that no traces of them are to be found on any of the remains of Grecian or Roman sculpture. When stirrups were invented is not precisely known, though they are not mentioned before the time of the Emperor Theodosius. It appeared to me, therefore, that the specimen here produced, which evidently partakes of the character of the stirrups used in the Eastern countries, might be not unworthy the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. I do not perceive any thing similar to it in the collection at the British Museum.

“ The Cemetery, where these articles were found, is in the parish of Langton, remote from any habitation, and presented no signs of the soil

^a Montfaucon, Suppl. vol. IV.

having been disturbed. There is a large Barrow about a quarter of a mile distant, near the river, in Mr. Farquharson's pleasure grounds; and half a mile to the eastward are considerable remains of an ancient British town."

Ancient Snuff-box.

June 10th, 1830. Extract of a Letter from J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq. F.S.A. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, accompanying the exhibition of an ancient Snuff-box :^a

"I beg to have the honour of presenting, for the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, the accompanying Snuff-box or Tobacco-rasp. It is six inches in length and two in breadth, and about half an inch deep, composed of several ornamental woods, inlaid with ivory. It contains a perforated grater of blue steel, on which it was originally the custom to rub the tobacco; and a small compartment is left uncovered at the upper end to receive the snuff and admit the fingers. On the sliding lid is an inlaid ivory figure of a man in the habit of the latter part of the reign of James I. or the beginning of that of Charles I. He is represented in the inelegant action of squirting the tobacco-juice from the corner of his mouth into a sort of *crachoir* which he holds in his left hand; but we must pardon his want of refinement in consideration of the certainty with which he enables us to fix the date of his manufacture. The ornament which supports the figure will also be recognised as of the same date with the costume, and will authorise us, I presume, to believe it one of the earliest Snuff-boxes or Snuff-mills, as they were originally called, and which latter term is still preserved in Scotland. In Doctor Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 4to, 1825, we find the word "*mill*" explained as "the vulgar name for a Snuff-box," with this reason assigned for its designation, that, "when tobacco was introduced into this country, those who wished to have snuff were wont to toast the leaves before the fire, and then bruise them with a bit of wood in the box, which was therefore called a '*mill*,' from

^a Plate XXXIV.

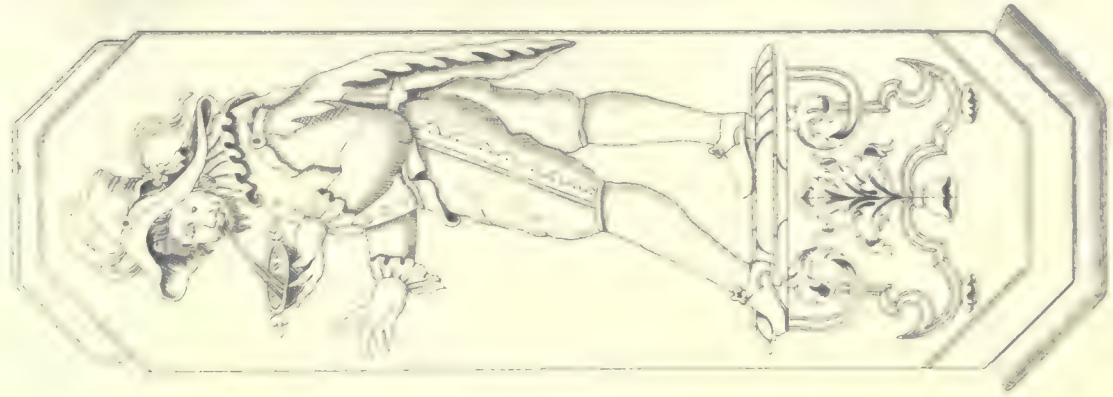
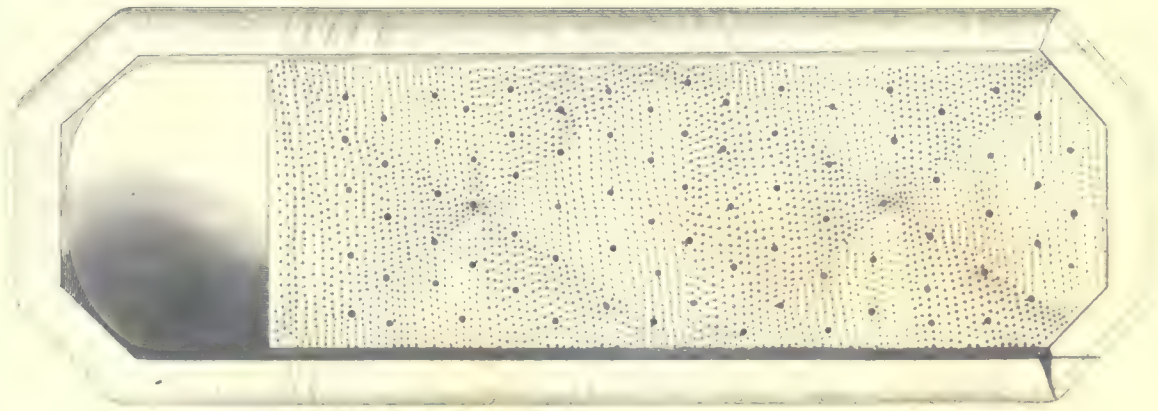


Fig. 1. A rectangular panel with a decorative border and a central figure of a person holding a staff.

Fig. 2. A rectangular panel with a decorative border and a central field of small dots.

the snuff being *ground* in it.' Upon this passage the following remark is made in the Edinburgh Review, N^o. 94, page 500: 'This is not quite correct—we have learned,' says the Reviewer, 'that a *Snuff-mill* was a machine like a nutmeg-grater, formerly in use in different parts of Scotland, which made snuff as often as a pinch was required.'"

Roman Pavement at Bishopstone, in Herefordshire.

June 10, 1830. THOMAS BIRD, Esq. F. S. A., communicated the following Account of the discovery of a Roman Pavement at Bishopstone, in Herefordshire, in a letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary.

"In the latter end of the last summer, I visited the parish of Bishopstone, about seven miles west of the city of Hereford, for the purpose of viewing the remains of a tessellated Pavement, immediately adjoining the rectorial house, and at no great distance from the Roman station of Magna Castra, or Kenchester; and it appearing to me, that from its having been laid on a common bed of clay, without any foundation, it was in great danger of being destroyed by the worms, or by persons treading upon it in wet weather, I have had a plan taken, upon a scale of one inch to a foot, for the purpose of preserving so beautiful a remnant of antiquity, which you will have the goodness to exhibit to the Society. The principal injury which this Pavement has received is on the north side, where a path appears to have been made from the north-east corner to the western end. The centre part is entirely destroyed, which is much to be regretted; but from a careful and attentive consideration of the pattern, which was found to correspond diagonally; my draughtsman has been enabled to restore the whole Pavement, with the exception of the centre. Having addressed some queries to the Rev. Adam John Walker, Rector of the parish of Bishopstone, on the subject, to whom I am much indebted for the alacrity with which he complied with my request, I have subjoined a copy of his Answers."

"The distance from the station of Kenchester is nearly a mile and a half. This is directly east of the site at Bishopstone which was probably the *commanding* situation of the Prætorium, for the General had

Kenchester, Credenhill, and Dinedor perfectly under his eye from this spot. At distances of one and two hundred yards round this house, we have dug up on every side Roman bricks, pottery both coarse and fine, and many fragments of funeral urns; and I am rather surprised that only three coins have yet been found; a regularly pitched causeway, or rather foundation, has been found repeatedly; and, in June 1821, in my kitchen garden, south-west of the house, a foundation of *Sand-stone* (which seems also at Kenchester to be the *only* stone the Romans employed) at the east end, about three feet deep, and at the west deepening to about five feet, was discovered. This foundation is full three feet wide, and increases towards the angle, where it turns, to five feet. I traced it fifty-five feet, it was substantially laid, but without cement.

"I found also a twenty inch foundation wall, most strongly cemented, on the east side of the house. Considerable quantities of black earth, near the places where fragments of Urns have been found, are also discovered. Bones have likewise been collected at about the general depth of *sixteen or eighteen inches*, at which most of these Roman remains are met with at Bishopstone.

"The appearance of the ground, where the Pavement was discovered, was that of a ploughed field, and, as much as can be expected in an inhabited country, in a state of nature.

"Considering the depth of sixteen inches, I have been much struck by the coincidence with Sir Humphrey Davy's opinion. He has stated, that the surface of England is raised by natural causes, *about an inch in a century*. Now taking it to be sixteen centuries since the Roman army quitted this neighbourhood, I regard this confirmation of Sir Humphrey's theory as remarkable, and I regret that this eminent philosopher had not the fact communicated to him before his death.

"I ought to remark, that the foundation above-mentioned, of fifty-five feet, with its right angle turn, was parallel, as far as I believe, with the respective sides of the tessellated Pavement: there was no appearance of walls round the pavement. The time at which this Pavement was discovered was in 1812, when digging a principal drain for the parsonage house."

*Discovery of a Plate commemorating Geoffrey Bishop of Chichester,
A. D. 1088.*

November 18, 1830. Extract of a Letter from the Rev. EDMUND CARTWRIGHT, F.S.A. of Arundel, in Sussex, addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, upon the discovery at Chichester, of an Inscription relating to Godfrey the second Bishop of that See after the removal of the Episcopal Seat from Selsey.

“About four years ago a stone Coffin was dug up in the enclosure, within the Cloisters of the Cathedral of Chichester, called the Paradise. As a cross was deeply engraved on a stone in the wall near where the Coffin was found, it was presumed that the Coffin contained the body of some person connected with the Church. Very near the spot where the Coffin was found, a few days ago, a thin piece of lead was dug up, in the form of a cross, the dimensions of which, in the extreme parts, were seven inches and a half by five, with the following inscription in early Gothic characters :

Absolvimus te Gode
fride Epē vice Scī
Petri principis
Ap̃to cui Dñus dedit
ligandi atque solvendi
potestatem ut quāntū tua expetit
accusatio et ad nos pertineat remiſio
sit tibi deus redemptor om̃ps salus om̃i
peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Amen.
vii Kl octobris in festivitate S'ci
Firmini Ep̃i et Mar̃i.
Obiit Gode
fridus Ep̃s
Cicestren
sis ipso die
v lunæ fuit.

“The word ‘sepultus’ is probably omitted, as a line is left for it.

“The discovery of this plate is interesting, as it identifies a Bishop of whom the traces are not very distinct.

“The first Bishop of Chichester, after the See was removed from Selsey, was Stigand, who died in 1087. The second is called by Godwin (*de Præsulibus*, p. 82) Gulielmus, of whom he says, ‘Successit illi Gulielmus nescio quis, de quo nihil omnino traditur;’ but in a note he says, ‘Ita Florentius in Catalogo; Godfridus vero Stigando successit, si Annalibus fides sit adhibenda, ubi scriptum legimus anno 1088, *Godefridus fit Episcopus Cycestriæ, et obiit ipso anno*. Annales etiam Winton. 1088 diem obitus collocant. Godefridus etiam obedientiam præstitit Lanfranco.’ *Regist. Cantuar.*

“The discovery of this plate confirms the accuracy of the authorities to which Godwin refers.

“There are two circumstances which incline me to suspect that Bishop Godfrey died under some ecclesiastical censure. First, absolutions similar to that here described were sometimes buried with persons dying under such circumstances; and I am not aware that any thing of the sort was ever done on any other occasion. Secondly, as Bishops were, I believe, at that period, invariably interred within the walls of the Church, it will be difficult to account for this Bishop having been buried in the open ground, except on the supposition of some such Censure as that to which I have alluded. This too may account more satisfactorily for the absence of all historical records concerning him, than the mere fact of his having sat but a few months in the Episcopal Chair.”

“*Arthur's Stone,*” a Cromlech in the district of Gower.

January 27, 1831. Extract of a Letter from ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. F.S.A. to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary.

“About ten miles west of Swansea, in South Wales, on the top of a mountain called Cevyn Bryn, in the district of Gower, is an ancient





Fig. 1. *Tempe, Arizona.*

Abundant in the region of the Colorado River.
At the mouth of the Colorado River.

See also Plate XXXIV. Fig. 1.

vestige of which I am not aware that any circumstantial description, or any delineation, has been published. It is known by the name of 'Arthur's Stone,' most probably from the practice into which the common people naturally fall, of connecting every thing remarkable for its antiquity, the origin of which is obscure or unknown, with the most prominent character in some memorable period of their history.

"On the 22d of November, 1811, I set out from Swansea to visit 'Arthur's Stone,' and I experienced no small difficulty in the wild and thinly populated country through which I passed, in ascertaining my road to it; few or none whom I met had seen it, all had heard of it. I pursued my course however to the top of Cevyn Bryn, the bold and mountainous acclivity before mentioned, at the western extremity of Gower, which overlooks the Severn sea and a noble æstuary called the Burry. Falling in with 'Arthur's Stone,' a short time before sunset, I had sufficient light to make the outlines of the three sketches,^a necessary to convey a distinct idea of its form and position; and the admeasurements which I have the honour to submit to the Society of Antiquaries.

"This Cromlech^b is formed of a stone 14 feet in length, and 7 feet 2 inches in depth, being much thicker, I believe, than any similar remain in Wales. Its irregular shape may be seen by the views. One side has been rendered flat and perpendicular by cutting off several tons to form mill-stones.^c

"It has eight perpendicular supporters, the height of one of these at the north west end is 4 feet 2 inches. The whole height of the structure is therefore 11 feet 4 inches. All the component stones are of a hard compact *lapis molaris*, of which the substratum of the mountain is said to consist. Immediately under the Cromlech, is a spring of clear water, which has obtained the name, in Welch, of the Lady's Well.^d A spring

^a See one of these, Plate XXXV.

^b Crwm, crooked, or bending; Llech, stone: i. e. the stone for bending in adoration.

^c Llwyd's Additions to Glamorganshire. Gibson's Camden's Britannia, p. 619.

^d The Topographical Dictionary mentions the *holy well* on Cevyn Bryn; this is doubtless the same. Carlisle's Topog. Dict. of Wales, under Llanridian.

thus situated plainly shows that the monument is not sepulchral. The fountain and Crómlech are surrounded by a vallum of loose stones, piled in an amphitheatrical form. The supporting stones of this Cromlech terminate in small points, on which its whole weight (which cannot be less than twenty-five tons) rests. Some few stones stand under it, apparently intended as supporters, but not now in actual contact; they either failed of their purpose on the Cromlech being placed in its position, or have since given way under its weight. The vallum of loose stones, which encircles this rude but majestic vestige, is composed, I conceive, of the materials of an inclined plane, under the upper part of which its supporters were once buried. When the stone, which probably lay on the open moor near the spot, had been raised on the inclined plane, by levers and rollers, immediately over the supporters, the loose stones were removed, the rock rested on its short pointed pillars, and the *septum* round it was formed. This conjecture is not without strong presumptive evidence in its favour. At Dyffryn Golluch, near Caerdiff, which Malkin renders the Vale of Prayer, or adoration, is a Cromlech, against which a large heap of stones has been thrown, and remains at this day. He mentions another in the same neighbourhood attended by a similar circumstance. He suggests that these heaps had been piled over the monuments of paganism, in desecration, by the primitive Christians; but it appears much more natural to suppose that they had some connexion with the mode of their construction.

“Well known as places of worship by the first Christian converts of Britain, they still continued to assemble at these sacred enclosures to hear the preachers of the revealed Word of God. Nay, the intelligent author whom I have above cited, tells us that the British word *Llan*, a church, in its original meaning implied a circular enclosure, and that *church* and *kirk* are referable to the Latin word *circus*, in their primitive import.^e A striking traditional confirmation of what I have advanced

^e See also Mr. Logan's Observations on the Druidical Circles in Scotland. *Archæologia*, vol. XXII. p. 198, and Appendix to ditto, p. 410.

will be found in the following instance, which I cite from a carefully compiled modern Itinerary of Wales. "Near Mare Cross (Glamorgan), is an ancient Cromlech, called the *Old Church*, the inhabitants believing that these rude structures were once places of worship."^f As we know that the Druids consecrated groves, rocks, lakes, and fountains to their superstitions, there is little doubt, I think, but Arthur's Stone was erected over one of their sacred springs; it afterwards became a place of Christian assembly for instruction and prayer, and, as the adoration of the Virgin began, in the darker ages, to vie with, if not altogether to eclipse, that of the Saviour of mankind, the Deity himself, the fountain obtained the name of Our Lady's Well.

"Arthur's Stone is celebrated in the vernacular records of the Welch. It is mentioned in the Triads as one of three stupendous works effected in Britain, of which Stonehenge is another, and Silbury Hill, perhaps, the third. It is called in the Triads the Stone of Sketty, from a place of that name in its neighbourhood. 'Like the work of the Stone of Sketty' has grown into a Welch proverb to express undertakings of great difficulty. For these particulars I am indebted to the writer to whom I have before referred. I wish I possessed that knowledge of the antient British tongue which might enable me to quote those valuable records, the Triads themselves, which are notices of remarkable historical events and other matters, coupled together in *threes*. They are without dates, being the composition of different bards, who composed them from time to time,^g and handed them down orally to their disciples. These Triads embraced the leading points of theology, morality, science, and history.^h The most important are preserved in the publication called the Myvyrian Archæology.

"It were, I imagine, much to be wished, that a correct translation of the Triads could be made to enter into the plan of publishing the cor-

^f The Cambrian Traveller's Guide. Stourport, 1808.

^g Pref. to Myvyrian Archæology, vol. II.

^h Note by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his translation of Giraldus Cambrensis, vol. II. p. 309.

rect and collated edition of our Chronicles, which is now undertaken at the public expense. It would be curious to ascertain how far the Anglo-Norman writers had in themselves been guilty of engrafting fable on early British history; many fictitious interpolations might thus be detected, many apocryphal facts established.

“To return, in conclusion, to the subject of my communication, ‘Arthur’s Stone.’ The people who thus ingeniously elevated these enormous masses, have left no written records of their own immediate times, although their descendants were not slow in lighting their torch at the flame of human learning. We gather what may be considered but obscure sketches of their customs, from the cotemporary poets and historians or more polished nations, but they have scattered the surface of the British soil with imperishable monuments of their existence, against which the storms of two thousand years have wreaked their fury in vain. These silent witnesses are not to be despised by the Antiquary of true taste and feeling; he will consider them as that link in the tangible records of human history, which connects it in some degree with the postdiluvian times. Such thoughts, not unmingled with a sentiment of awe and veneration, will, I think, present themselves to the mind of him who views this massive Druid altar on *Cevyn Bryn*, in English, ‘the ridge of the mountain.’

“In the adjoining parish to Llanridian, in which Arthur’s stone is placed, is the Leucarum^g of Antoninus, now Lywehwr or Lloughor, a corporate town decayed to two straggling hamlets. Here is a ferry over the river Burry or Lloughor, into Caermarthenshire. On a steep mount near the river, is the small square keep of a castle of the Norman Lords of Gower. The Roman locality of Lloughor was decidedly evinced to me by an altar, which I saw placed as a stile before a cot-

^g Leuchra, Mr. Logan says, signifies in the Gaelic, ‘reedy, abounding with rushes.’ Lloughor (pronounced Luccur) stands on a marsh. The Leuchar, which Mr. Logan speaks of, Appendix to Archæologia, vol. XXII. p. 410, is situated on an extensive moss. It is evident that in calling their station Leucarum the Romans merely added a Latin termination to a British word.

tage garden, in the easternmost hamlet. I was informed, that tradition said it had been brought from the church. This seemed pointedly to corroborate the assertion of Bede, that the Pagan temples of our island, cleansed of their idolatrous images, were converted into Christian churches.^h

“A deservedly eminent antiquary, in pursuit of a theory to settle the stations of the XIIth Iter of Antoninus, has removed *Leucarum*, Lloughor, *Nidum*, Neath, and a whole line of Roman posts in connexion with them, at once over the water into Somersetshire; an example how readily locomotive even stations may be made, to tally with a preconceived scheme, and a proof how dangerous it is for the most learned to attempt to settle a Roman Iter without adding ocular exploration to their critical judgment, which ever, in these cases, should go hand in hand.”

Small Silver Box in the shape of a human Skull.

February 17, 1831. Extract of a letter from JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A. addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, illustrative of a small Silver Box, presumed to have been a Reliquary.

“By permission of Mr. Thomas Frankum, of Abingdon, I am enabled to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a small Silver Box, found in the year 1829, whilst ploughing up a field, formerly part of the lands of the Abbey of Abingdon, and situate between that town and the village of Cumnor.

“It is in the shape of a human skull, opening at the mouth, and,

^h See Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Book I. chapter 30. “I knew an instance of a great quantity of the bones of *fowls* being found buried in the body of a parochial church. What were these but the relics of heathen sacrifice? Socrates, before his death, directed a cock to be sacrificed to Esculapius.”

from the manner in which the os frontis and parietal bones are marked, appears to have been formed by some one not altogether unskilled in anatomy. It will be remarked, that it is exceedingly simple in construction, the artificer having first cast a plain semi-spherical box, and afterwards soldered on the os frontis and bones of the face. The fastening is by a simple but secure catch. A ring, which remains at the back of the head, shews that it was intended to be worn pendent.

“ The emblem itself seems to point to some religious or ecclesiastical purpose, and I imagine that it was intended as a pendent Reliquary. Amongst the various purposes to which relicks were applied during the middle ages, a very common one appears to have been, to suspend them round the neck as amulets to preserve the wearer from disease and danger. In this use relicks were the successors of the ancient Jewish ‘Phylacteries,’ and the caskets in which they were inclosed, when intended to be worn pendent, were termed ‘Phylacteries’ by the early monkish writers (vid. Du Cange, verbo ‘Phylacteria’). Under the word ‘Nuxa,’ for a reference to which I am indebted to Fosbroke’s *British Monachism*, p. 379, Du Cange gives an extract from the *Consuetud. Cluniac*, in which it is stated to be the duty of the Sacrist of the Monastery to distribute the relics of the Saints inclosed in little crosses, caskets, and boxes amongst the brethren, to be worn by them suspended round the neck. Many other passages, confirmatory of this custom are to be found scattered through Du Cange, under the words, ‘Phylacterium,’ ‘Eucolpium,’ ‘Capsa,’ and ‘Buxis.’ Under the word ‘Capsa,’ is an extract from the life of Saint Willehad, included amongst the *Acta SS. Benedict.* (sæc. 3, pt. 2, p. 406), from which it would seem that in a time of danger, that Saint was preserved from a deadly wound in the throat, by the lucky interposition of the chain or leather by which his little relic-box was suspended.

“ I have not met with any particular notice of the various forms of the pendent reliquaries, but it is evident from the general denominations I have before referred to, ‘Cruciculis, capsulis, et nuxis.’ ‘Little

crosses, caskets, and boxes,' that the forms were entirely fanciful. The same inference may be drawn from the description of a reliquary in the inventory of the jewels of Peter Gaveston, which is said to have been in the shape of an eagle.

" Under the word 'Phylacteria,' in Du Cange, there is an extract from Beletus de Divinis Officiis, which enumerates 'gold, silver, and chrystal,' as the substances of which pendent reliquaries were made, and instances are given of the use of each of those substances, ornamented in some case with precious stones. The reliquary that belonged to Gaveston, is described, as 'an Eagle of gold, with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and pearls, with relics therein of Saint Richard of Cicestre, in a covering of leather.'"^a

Inscription from a Chapel at Tours, in France.

Feb. 24th, 1831. Extract of a Letter from JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary.

" The Rev. John William Mackie, M.A., F.R.S. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, has commissioned me to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a brass plate which he recently brought from the city of Tours, in France. It contains an inscription recording the dedication, in 1446, of a chapel, to the door of which it is supposed to have been attached.

" The inscription is as follows :

" L'an mil cccc xl e' vi, le xxi iour de decembre, le iour^b saint thomas apoustre, mons' l'archiuesque de tours dedia ceste chappelle en l'onneur et reuerence de dieu et de mons' saint eloi ; et dona le dit s' le iour quelle fut dediee, & aux deux fesstes de saint eloy pour'ch[ac]un Jour xl iours de pardon a ceulx qui vister'nt la chappelle ; et la fist faire gillebert J. orfeure du roy."

" Not having had access to any history of Tours, I have not been

^a Rymer, vol. II. p. 204.

^b One stroke of the *u* is omitted by mistake.

able to discover any other particulars of the chapel than those related in the inscription. I am informed, however, that it was a distinct building, not a chapel in the cathedral. Of the five fauxbourgs around Tours, one is named after St. Eloi.

“ This Saint, to whom the chapel was dedicated, was Bishop of Noyon in the seventh century, and has been styled the Apostle of Flanders. He was the patron of the forge, and therefore the authorised object of devotion with the royal goldsmith, at whose charges, we are told, the chapel was founded. Indeed the Saint himself is said to have been originally a goldsmith, although it is clear that he did not disdain the more humble department of farriery. The corporation of Smiths in Dublin is called ‘ the Guild of Saint Loy.’

“ On the seal of an hospital at Hoddesdon (engraved in the Gentleman’s Magazine for April, 1830), he is represented, together with St. Clement, having a hammer in his hand, and a horseshoe beneath him ; and one of his most memorable miracles was that of detaching the leg of a horse from the body, for the purpose of shoeing it with greater convenience, and afterwards replacing the limb to the satisfaction of both steed and rider. This feat, so worthy of the famous Baron Munchausen, is represented in an ancient bas-relief, found, in 1776 in the church of Frekenham, Suffolk, and engraved in the Gentleman’s Magazine for September 1777.^a It has also been observed in a missal belonging to Sir James Pringle Dalrymple.^b

“ To return to the inscription. On turning over Pegge’s “ Sylloge of Inscriptions relative to the building or consecration of Churches in England,” I find only one resembling it in language. This is of a later date by three quarters of a century, and belongs to a chapel built at Westenham, in Kent, in 1520, by Sir Edward Poynings, K.G.:^c

[L’ann] mil v^e et xx a l’incarnation nostre christ et le xii ann du tres hault et tres [puis]sant et tres excellent prince nostre

^a Vol. XLVII. p. 416.

^b Ibid. vol. XCIV. p. 296.

^c Bibl. Top. Brit. No. XLI. p. 61.

et roy Henry viii. et a l'honneur du Dieu et de la glorieuse Vierge Marie fut faicte et achevee ceste chapelle par mesire Edouard Poynings, chevalier de la noble ordre du gartier, et contreroyler de la mason du roy, cuy Dieu doint sa grace et bonne vie et longue, et paradis a la fin. Amen.

“ This was engraved in stone ; but in Ashbourne church, Derbyshire, remains a brass plate recording the dedication, somewhat smaller in size than that now before us, but of two centuries' greater antiquity ; the inscription on which (in Latin) is engraved in Dr. Pegge's work.^d

“ Nothing further occurs to me to remark, except it be the beauty of the letters, which are varied by a different style of shading in each successive line, and in three lines are beaten in or indented. Both letters and lines are placed as close together as possible ; and it was the same motive, that of covering the whole surface, that suggested the flowery terminations of some of the letters, particularly e and y.

“ It may be added, that we have an English specimen of ornamental letters, not unlike the present in form, but certainly exceeding them in beauty. I allude to the inscriptions at the back of the lower seats in St. George's chapel, Windsor, of which Mr. Gough has given a plate in his *Sepulchral Monuments*.”^e

^d P. 92.

^e Vol. II, p. ccliii.

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